RUSSIAN WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE
№ 50 DECEMBER 1992

NEW TIMES

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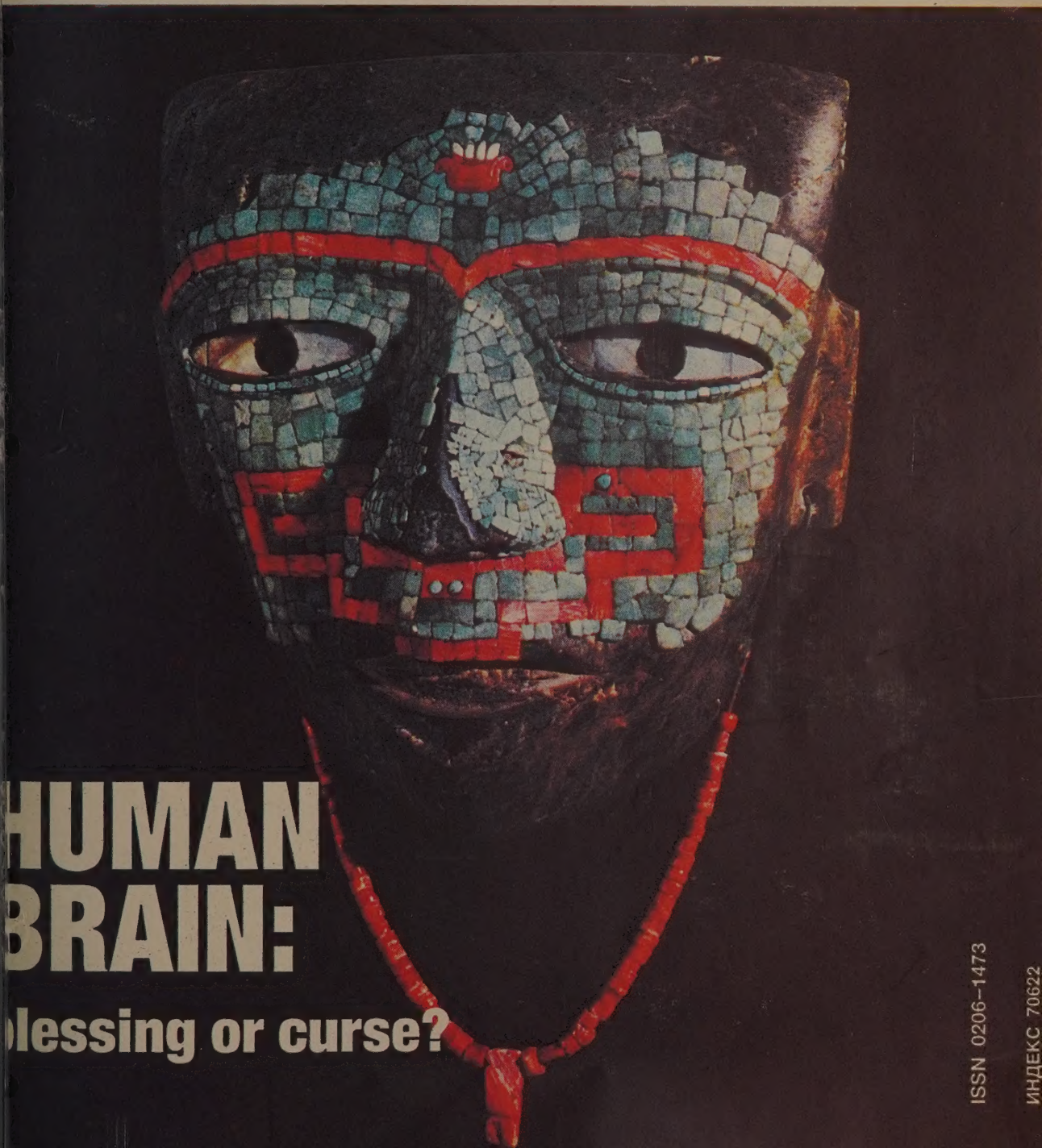

HUMAN BRAIN:
blessing or curse?

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St. PETERSBURG PANORAMA

s a monthly illustrated magazine designed for a wide circle of readers who are interested in the life of St. Petersburg and the Leningrad region: in economy, municipal management, architecture and city-planning. A full range of articles are devoted to the history of Russia, St. Petersburg, cities and towns of the region, to the history of and the current situation in culture, literature and art.

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Houses and people
The Russian intelligentsia
The Russian business people
The ladies of our city
We are Leningraders, you and me...

A series of essays by a 19th century publicist M.L. Mikhailov "St. Petersburg and its environs" will continue to appear.

The editorial staff plans to improve the design of the magazine and increase the number of colour illustrations.

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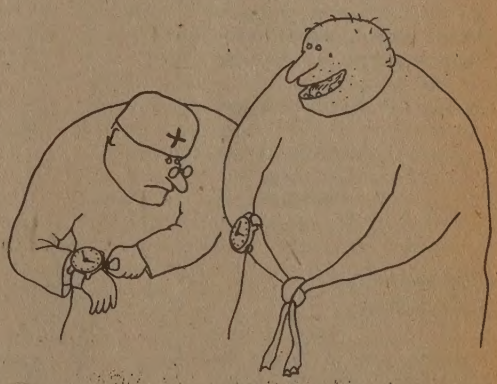

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Drawing by Marat Tairov

Cover by Alexander Mirolyubov

When will reckoning occur

Gentlemen,

The Soviet Union is known to have signed the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights. One of its articles states that every person who was unlawfully arrested or held in custody has a right to compensation.

Nevertheless, your authorities do not reply to our statements of claim, or reply pro forma only. This, inspite of the fact that Russia declared it was a legal successor to the former Soviet Union and, according to international practice, is responsible for all its treaties and commitments. Your laws on rehabilitation and meagre compensation only prove that former Communists make a mockery of their victims.

The International Association of Former Soviet Political Prisoners and Victims of the Communist Regime demands a fair compensation, equalling not less than four monthly wages of a worker in the former USSR or four minimum wages in the victim of communism's country of residence for each month of imprisonment.

All Communist party and the KGB funds and property must be used for the compensation of communism's victims and close relatives of the deceased. Their flats, property and jobs should be returned to them and pensions should be granted to them. We hope your magazine will find room for stating our position.

On behalf of a group of former Soviet prisoners now in emigration, Association member

Rudi Sokoloff,
New York

Russians not Americans

Having lived in Russia for some time, I would like to tell Americans planning to do business with that country one thing: we have as yet to discover it. Russia is entirely different from the United States, both politically and economically. But the main thing is that it is different psychologically. Russians often use expressions of the kind "not bad" or "never mind". Individual initiative is not developed among them. I think this is explained not so much by their nature as by the circumstances of life. By Western standards, the Russians have never had private ownership, and considerable effort and time will be needed to inculcate this notion. How could the feeling of private ownership appear if 99 percent of citizens in the Russian Empire, just as citizens of the Soviet Union, were deprived of property. Besides, the communal spirit has always prevailed in Russian society, particularly in the lower classes. Such are the people we Americans and the authors of radical economic reforms have to think about in Russia.

John Wilson,
businessman
Arizona, USA

The pot calling the kettle black

Our officials allege that Russia sells China missile engines, technology and other modern systems. This policy certainly undermines the efforts of civilized nations to check the proliferation of arms. The export of arms and military technologies to China can help it develop new types of weapons and expand their export to the Third World, the most unstable sector of our planet. The trouble is that, rebuking Russia with arms sales, our leaders are not very scrupulous in this matter. Such deals as the sale of jet planes to Saudi Arabia and Taiwan at the sum of 14.8 billion dollars, made known in the US this fall, exceeded the money from US arms sales over last year to all Third World countries. Are we sincerely concerned about the demilitarization of the planet when we moralize to others about arms sale and keep silent about our own sins?

Donald Eddison,
student
Arkansas, USA

New words enrich vocabulary

I have noticed that Russian absorbs English words and phrases like a sponge. This process has two aspects in my opinion: positive, because it helps bring Russia closer to the outside world, where English has become dominant as a means of intercourse, and negative, because it erodes a spiritual medium of the people embodied, in the rich and colourful Russian language. It will be sad if Russian turns into English jargon. Russia has given the world not only such woeful words as "pogrom," "knout" and "GULAG", but also truly national words like "sputnik," "glasnost" and "perestroika." In exchange, it has received such words as "jeans," "hamburgers" and "sex-shops." The linguistic exchange should be beneficial to both sides.

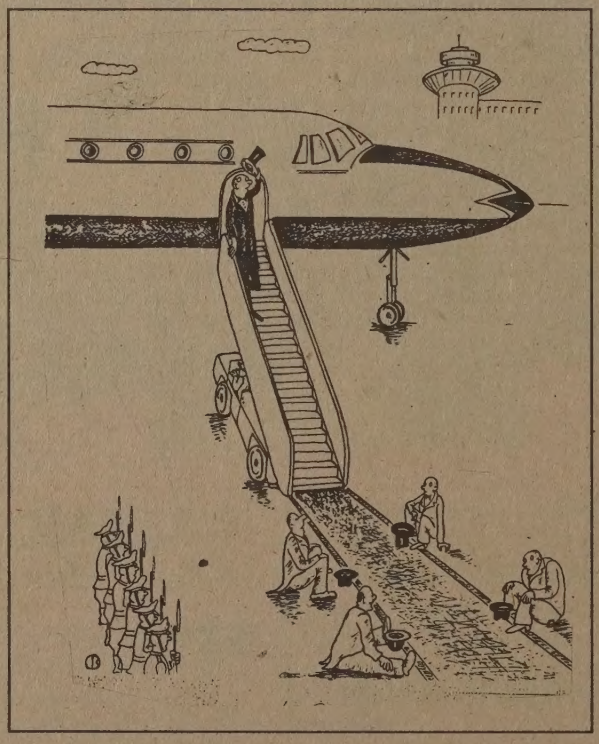
Margaret Meiklejohn,
teacher
Australia

Democrats, don't lose your wits

Yeltsin's reaction to the establishment of the National Salvation Front seemed excessive to me. This puny and wretched organization found no response from politically active sections of the population. The banning of the Front may suggest that Yeltsin and his team are losing their usual cool. The "demonization" of an opponent has always been typical of political life in Russia, where thinking in terms of conspiracies comes naturally. As far as I can judge, the danger of an anti-constitutional seizure of power by forces hostile to reforms practically doesn't exist.

Wladislaw Nawrocki,
professor
Warsaw

THE WAY I SEE IT



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Boris Yeltsin shops for a party, parties shop for a president

It's impossible to make an assessment of the Congress of People's Deputies of Russia based on its formal results. Only the adoption of a constitutional amendment on private land ownership shines out as significant among them. As for the political system, more precisely for a breakthrough in its development, the line of behaviour chosen by President Yeltsin is more significant than any concrete decisions. It helped him survive in a battle of tactics with the bulky and awkward Parliament, fatally losing the battle strategically.

Even having made up his mind, in defiance of radical recommendations, not to dismiss the Congress, the President decided to rule in the traditional manner, i.e., to become "the President of entire Russia" without a clear political affiliation nor obligations before certain political groupings. He wished to remain the wielder of supreme authority inherited from tsars and general secretaries. The period of Mikhail Gorbachev's politically uninvolved rule, which ended a year ago in the latter's banishment from the Kremlin, seems to have very little impressed Boris Yeltsin who, having received 57 percent of the vote at the 1991 presidential elctions, deemed himself an elected representative of the entire population. To the people did he appeal, having forgotten that between the President and the electorate which, incidentally, is becoming more and more passive, if not directly hostile to power, there are hosts of "minor people's representatives," an immense corps of people's deputies, who are rapidly getting professionalized into a political class not at all desirous of rejecting their political ambitions.

It's these professionals who put up a fight with the amateur President, and whose strength he became aware of when he nearly lost control as a result of amendments limiting his powers in forming a cabinet. According to analysts, however, his narrow escape was also the result of professional work. The President's opponents dealt a strong enough blow to bring him down to reality, but not strong enough to provoke him into taking extreme measures – a dismissal of the Congress and the Supreme Soviet, for instance. As a result, at first the President became a recluse, isolating himself from politicians of all shades. Only later, as a pragmatic man, did he begin to change tactics and seek a compromise.

His first move was the removal of the at one time omnipotent ex-secretary of state, Gennady Burbulis, on whom the major blame for the failure of the President's behaviour at the Congress was laid. He was transferred to a different office, lacking a direct telephone hook up with the President, which is a more than simply an inconvenience, as experts on Kremlin hierarchy know.

Boris Yeltsin's second move was his decision to confer with the leaders of 10 parliamentary factions on the procedure for the appointment of key ministers and on the fate of Acting Premier Yegor Gaidar. This was a compromise, but a forced one, since it was resorted to already after the President's "Pyrrhic victory" in the battle for the amendments. Yeltsin demonstrated that the "minor people's representatives," whom he had intended to send back home, were strong enough to force him into retreat.

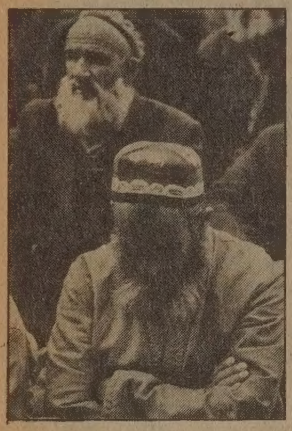
The third move is easy to foresee. No stable government will now be able to be "presidential," because the President himself needs the support of political parties. The disadvantage of Boris Yeltsin's situation is that he was too late to understand this. If he had made the corresponding statement before the Congress, having invited one of the strongest parliamentary factions to share the responsibility for the government with him, it would have looked like the President's conscious and independent choice, while now we have his capitulation before the onslaught of a new political class.

Well, British barons also once drove their king into a corner, and thus the great Charter of Liberties was born... What is to be born from Yeltsin's concessions? First, a system of political parties in which a non-affiliated politician will simply find no place for himself. Second, Boris Yeltsin will have to find "his" party in order to go on ruling rather than being discarded for, say, a poor state of health. He'll hardly have the time to create it independently, most probably he'll have to join a ready-made one. Third, each political party will have to look for a candidate to succeed Boris Yeltsin: the receding of the "President of entire Russia" makes way for the 1995 presidential race.

Vladimir Kulistikov

THIS WEEK

■ The latest ceasefire in Tajikistan lasted only several days. As soon as the Parliament session closed, the situation in that republic once again became tense.



Will peace ever come to Tajikistan?

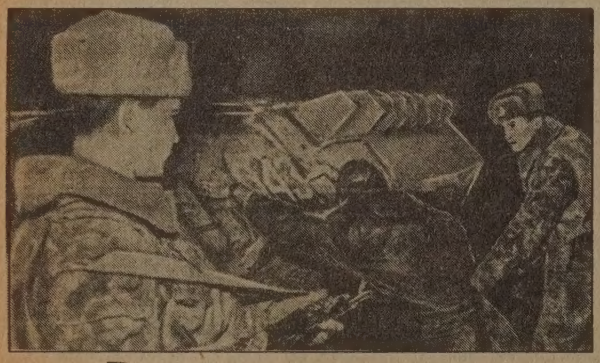
According to the Russian Federation's State Committee for Emergencies, the Kofarnikhon district in the south of Tajikistan became the centre of fighting. Together with armed groups, armoured carriers are engaged in the battle. Sixty people were killed in the first days of the conflict. Following the eruption in the Kofarnikhon district the situation grew tense in the Gissar district in the vicinity of Dushanbe. Gissar armed groups joined the battle against the Dushanbe volunteers, who call themselves "a people's democratic army."

The Parliament decided to form groups from among its members for holding ceasefire talks with field commanders.

■ The defence ministers of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrghyzstan and Russia met in Termez with the participation of a military delegation from Tajikistan to discuss peace-keeping assistance to that republic. Marshal Yevgeny Shaposhnikov, Commander-in-Chief of the Commonwealth's armed forces, took part in the meeting.

A peace-keeping force is to be raised with equal participation by the above-mentioned republics. The chief thrust of its attempt to settle the conflict in Tajikistan will be to disarm illegal groups.

■ In view of the need to ensure a further stabilization in the Ossetian-Ingush conflict zone and to avert an escalation in tensions, the Russian Parliament prolonged the state of emergency there till January 30 of next year.



South Ossetia doesn't rest from conflict. A night search is conducted

The provisional administration describes the present situation in both republics as tense. At a briefing in Vladikavkaz, Sergei Shakhrai, head of the administration, said that in many respects it reminds one of the situation in the latter half of October, that is, before fierce clashes began in the Suburban Area of North Ossetia. In some villages, terrorist acts are committed almost every day, taking the lives of both Ossetians and Ingushes. The efforts of Russian troops and law enforcement bodies to confiscate arms from the population have yielded little effect so far. More people have been taken hostage, while others are still being held as hostages.

■ The Central Bank of Russia circulated a statement pointing out that the state credits extended by the former Soviet Union cannot be re-evaluated in accordance with the stock exchange rate of the ruble in relation to the dollar.

The credits granted by the former USSR to other countries run into a huge sum almost double the external debt of the legal successors of the Union. Despite the shady nature of the debt which was to be paid to the USSR, there are quite reliable payers, some debts even being more or less paid out. However, the borrowers have raised the question of recounting the debt sum (R85 billion) in accordance with the current exchange rate of the ruble. As a result, it will be reduced to one-720th of the existing figure. The Union extended credits in the form of goods, rather than money. They borrowers received oil and other raw materials, industrial equipment and arms. In most cases the cost of these goods was determined at world prices. The evaluation of deliveries in rubles was merely a currency reservation intended to guarantee the cost of a credit. That is why, the Central Bank stated, it cannot serve as a standard for recounting the debt.

During three days of intensive work, the Georgian Parliament approved the composition of a new government submitted by Head of State Eduard-Georgy Shevardnadze and Premier Tenghiz Sigua.

Though the cabinet includes members of various parties and organizations, they are all united by adherence to the Shevardnadze course. Some key ministers and committee chairmen are aged 30 to 40. Many of them were dissidents in the past. Among them are the chief of the information and intelligence service, minister of the interior, head of the republican customs service, and vice-premier for economic reform.

■ Five former Soviet republics officially joined the Organization for Economic Cooperation founded by Iran, Pakistan and Turkey in 1964. At a ceremony held in Islamabad, the foreign ministers of Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrghyzstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan signed the Charter of this organization.

In this way the OEC became the second largest trade bloc after the European Community. In addition to lower trade tariffs, the members of the organization will set up an investment bank, a common airline, and satellite communication. The Central Asian republics will gain easy access to the Arabian Sea through Karachi. They also hope for investment in the building of a modern infrastructure and the encouragement of the private sector.

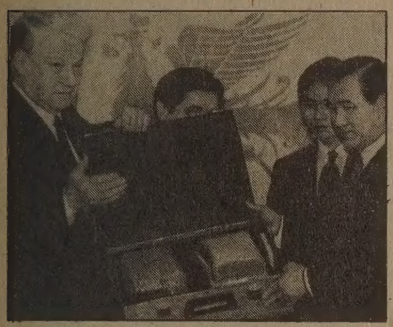
■ President Yeltsin issued a decree under which life pensions, equalling ten minimum wages, were awarded to four outstanding Russian cultural figures – singer Ivan Kozlovsky, conductor Boris Pokrovsky, pianist Svyatoslav Richter and ballerina Galina Ulanova – for their contribution to national and world art. Under the same decree, a bill is to be drafted on additional social benefits to other citizens who have done great services to Russia.

■ Several underground explosions shook coal pits in Kemerovo, Western Siberia. More than 20 miners were caught in a fire and died. Tragic statistics report that one human life is lost in the output of almost each million tons of coal. Before the latest accident 92 miners were killed in the Kuznetsk coal basin this year.

THIS WEEK

■ Members of an unusual Italian-Russian-Vietnamese expedition "On Elephants Through the Jungles of South Vietnam" arrived in Hanoi. The group is headed by Jacek Palkiewicz, an Italian of Polish descent, one of the most famous travellers today, whose "lessons in survival" are known to the whole world. The action has a purely ecological purpose, namely, to protect Asian elephants from extinction. It is believed that slightly over 40,000 elephants have remained on the continent. The trek includes two Russian citizens as well.

■ A crowd gathered in front of the Russian embassy in Seoul throwing rotten eggs at the building. As a result, cleaning main entrance and the porch became a stinky affair. The "egg protest" was triggered off by a scandal over the black box of the Boeing shot down over the territory of the former Soviet Union in 1983. The box was officially presented by President Yeltsin to the South Korean President Roh Tae Woo. It turned out, however, not to contain what had been promised.



The infamous black box. The eye of the storm

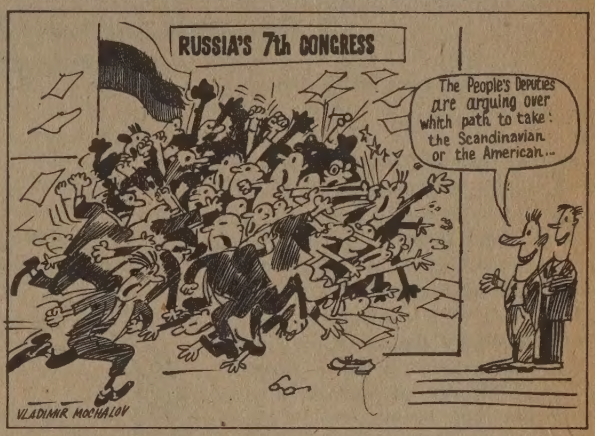
■ The scandal surrounding invitations intended for Chernobyl children is growing. Instead of the children who really needed treatment, the groups arriving in Germany include fashionably dressed boys and girls who are only interested in shopping in Cologne or Bonn. They arrive with "handsome sums" and take the boutiques by storm. Ten-year-old Victoria E., for instance, brought several hundred dollars with her. Her mother is an engineer at the Ostankino TV centre and her father is a businessman with Western contacts. None of them are Chernobyl victims. Other members of the group came from similarly privileged backgrounds. Most of them are children of employees of "Petrovsky Passage," a firm selling goods for hard currency.

■ American enterprise has no limits indeed. Daniel Dennis Brull from Boston, came to Ufa, capital of Bashkiria, on a private invitation and gave public workshops on the art of free breathing. On leaving Ufa, during the registration of tickets for a flight to Moscow, he produced the ticket and passport of a Russian citizen.

Asked for explanations, Brull made gestures to show that he was deaf and dumb. When the strange passenger was offered to go to the transport police station, he suddenly began to speak, saying he was an American citizen and proving this by papers, including the long overdue visa. Asked where and why he obtained the Russian passport, Brull said he bought it from a tramp for 50 dollars in one of Moscow's underpasses. Brull added that passing himself for a Russian citizen with this document, he spent considerably less in rubles than he would have done in dollars as a foreigner.

The local authorities were generous to Brull and merely fined him 500 rubles. Shortly afterwards Bashkiria's Ministry for Foreign Economic Ties received a telegram from the US embassy in Moscow, apologizing for the behaviour of the American citizen and for his passport shenanigans.

CARTOON OF THE WEEK


RUSSIA'S 7th CONGRESS
The People's Deputies are arguing over which path to take: the Scandinavian or the American...
VLADIMIR MOCHALOV

Cartoon by Vladimir Mochalov

■ Bashkiria's ex-premier Marat Mirgazyamov was offered a job in the cooperative bank Vostok. Its president Rafis Kadyrov agreed to pay a million rubles a month for the services of the retired premier of the republic.

The Vostok bank, one of the largest financial cooperatives in the country, has many former high-ranking party and government officials on its staff. Among them are a former first secretary of the republican committee of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, five former first secretaries of city and district party committees, a retired vice-premier, and several dozen people's deputies.

Quotations of the week

"We have a rather narrow corridor of possible actions between the danger of a unitary state and the breakdown of the Russian Federation. It is important here to remember the sad experience of the former Union. What we need is a compromise, not an unprincipled stand, flexibility, not unlimited conciliation. There is one criterion here – a single country, thriving and enjoying authority among its own people and in the world community."

Ruslan Khasbulatov,
Speaker of the Russian Parliament

"It seems we have agreed on correcting reform. But so far we make one folly after another. A Council of Heads of Republics has been set up. Why? Why should a republic, five or six of which can be placed in the Angara River basin only, have an advantage over a region or territory? All territories must be equal subjects of the Federation. Or take another instance. A Council of Governors has been formed. For what purpose? There are only two governors, of Sakhalin and Nizhny Novgorod, in our country."

Alexander Rutskoi,
Vice-President of Russia

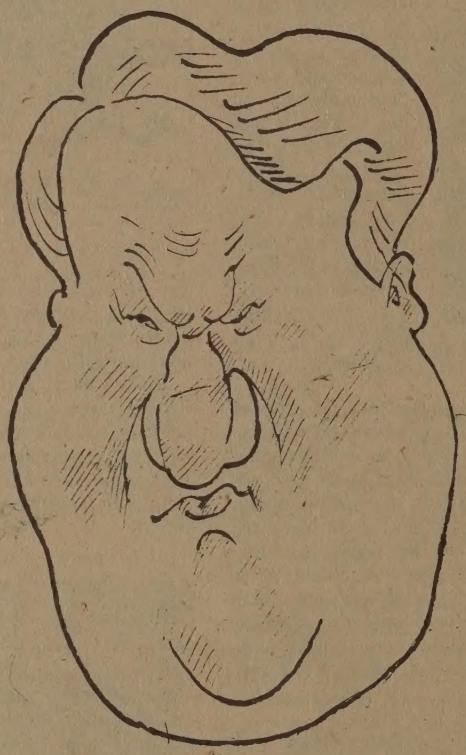
Transit congress

Congress replaces CPSU Central Committee in recarving the Constitution

The present Congress seems to be taking a different path than society is. Veering more and more away and slamming the door in our face, it's turning into a bang-up caucus. One feels horrified to realize that these folk, with their educational and cultural levels and mentality, may mangle our Constitution anyway they please.

I don't think anyone would be astonished, should one fine day the deputies vote, for instance, to revoke the freedom of speech. Think it incredible? Well, we'll see.

Despite all the ups and downs of the political wrangling, despite all the drama, the deputies are sticking to their guns and at each new congress raise the issue of the mass media. This time they again took time – and television and sound broadcasting time as well – to recite long excerpts from *Argumenty i Fakty* and brand newsmen for that unfamiliar Speaker term which they contend the Constitution makes no provisions for. I wonder what would overtake our mass media were reporters to resort exclusively to the vocabulary of the Constitution... I think even the deputies would not be able to keep within those limits, notwithstanding their all too modest jargon.



Hiding from whom?

This current Seventh Congress has signally contributed to the limitation of *glasnost,* which we thought our gain even in Gorbachev's day. For the first time after the installation of the electronic voting machine were voting papers in closed booths used. After all, to say a yea or a nay is a knotty matter; one must think hard not to press the wrong button. Believable perhaps, but what one cannot understand is why Constitutional amendments deciding the lot of the executive arm had to be put to a secret vote. What sort of secrets can there be in relationships between deputies and government? Are they afraid that Gaidar's boys will institute a long-term vendetta?

Secret voting is reminiscent of log-rolling in the sense that though the majority had decided the issue and though who comprise that majority was known, still here one could faze electors, journalists and television audiences. No doubt the deputies find it cosier behind the broad back of the grey majority, but that precisely indicates that the body of deputies is becoming a corporate body with its own interests that it has not the slightest intention of sharing.

The entry to the Kremlin Palace was strictly limited. Khazbulatov warned that he wouldn't allow any "political adventurers" to be present at the Congress. That is why Poltoranin and Bakatin were denied the permits, while Zhirinovsky made his appearance at the Congress the very first day. At first, Burbulis was invited to take a seat on the balcony assigned for the quests and journalists, and only afterwards he was admitted into the Congress hall. In the meantime all corridors were packed with "patriots" and communists bearing no relation either to the legislative or to the executive power of Russia, such as Communist Zyuganov, passionate revolutionary Sazhi Umalatova from the sovereign Chechen Republic, Victors Alksnis who represented an "independent Latvia," and alike.

There was one more novelty when on one of the days the Congress was sitting, parliamentary correspondents were barred from the Great Kremlin Palace. Though, of course, you can have meetings in camera and procedures where one should not have reporters milling around, like the booth voting in the St. George's Hall, in this case the newsmen were simply kept out in the street and though it was not much of a frost, one certainly feels it after stamping feet on the pavement for an hour or so. What we face here is not so much political feeling as elementary decency, the breeding of the Supreme Soviet leadership and common human values, such as mercy.

When Ruslan Khasbulatov urged dispersal of the Parliamentary Mass Media Committee, he was applauded. Is anyone still doubtful that perhaps

the day will come when we shall be obliged to rescue the Russian Federation's constitutional structures from this Congress?

The atmosphere at the Congress Press Centre where at the eleventh hour the news conference, which the Radical Democrats had slated, was supplanted by a meeting with Travkin, even though he had filed his application later, and where, again without notification, the news conference on the Ingushetia-Ossetia issue was postponed, goes to show that the people ruling the roost nowadays at the Congress have nerves of steel. They are not at all embarrassed, or hysterical, and care not a fig for public opinion. These chaps won't faint should their bosses shut down a democratic newspaper, as the Democrats did when President Yeltsin closed *Pravda* for three days after last year's putsch.

The miseries of Josephine

Before the Congress opened, everybody said that no proper preparations for it had been made. However, the speeches given reveal the reverse. What was said did not differ in intonation, content, an understanding of the issue or aggressiveness from what had been said at the Sixth Congress. The deputies have but one speech which is once and for all.

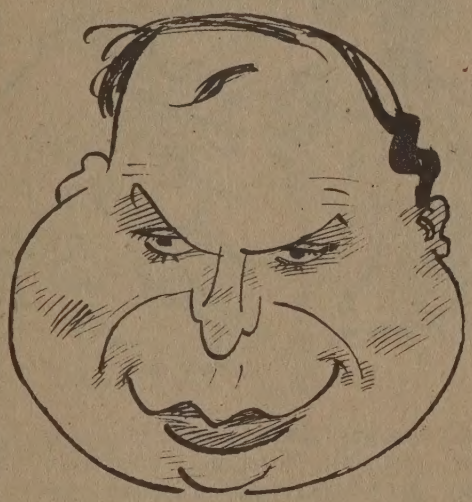
No wonder the debate on the Gaidar report had no bearing on that report at all. Not for nothing did naive foreign newsmen pester us, wanting to know when that debate would begin. Poor souls, they don't seem to realize that that is precisely what we call a debate. Complaints, attacks and now and again sobbing and heart-rending artistic utterances as, for instance, "President, resign if you're a decent person!"

"Deputies, resign if you're decent people!"

It doesn't cost a thing to weep, but the effect is damning. Again, as at the previous Congress, the acting was terrific and new heights were reached. Thus, the speech of Nikolai Travkin, the shadow economics minister, was impatiently expected. No wonder, as he offered ten minutes of hearty guffaws, with witticisms about mistresses, wives, vouchers, etc., following in rapid-fire sequence. Yet he was unable, I think, to outvie Zhirinovsky's address to the Congress before his presidential candidate nomination when he had deputies rolling in the aisles.

Again as at the previous Congress, Travkin fired his allies at an individual. Then it had been Arkady Murashov. Now it was Gennady Burbulis. He even dragged in Napoleon's first wife Josephine, about whom – what a coincidence – he had gained knowledge out in the foyer only a few minutes earlier. But the lady was to the point. What though does it bring to mind?

First to invoke the shades of the late Empress was that celebrated cabbie Sukhov in the Union parliament, all to



assail Gorbachev for being married. Today Nikolai Travkin, Chairman of the Democratic Party, recalled Josephine to stigmatize the President's political marriages with Burbulis and Poltoranin.

Travkin's fury vis-à-vis his erstwhile comrades – both Murashov and Burbulis had founded Travkin's party and with him had held its constituent conference – fulminating not against political ideas and activities, but against particular persons whom he seeks to humiliate, is most unpleasant. Even former allies should not lose dignity in their present relationships.

In short, Travkin's statement leaves us wondering. Alright, the deputies had a good laugh. But what of it? Why take the floor? Did he really want to say something?

The third-day syndrome

At the outset, it appeared as if this current Congress would be still more boring than the previous one, as everything seemed so run-of-the-mill. However, the third day generated a row, political scuffles. Psychologists have termed that the third-day syndrome, when nerves are stretched to breaking point, so much so that even a trifle is enough to detonate a row.

What triggered off the scandal was the confusion over procedure. According to the rules, a fifth of the legislative body may call for personally registered voting, whereas the majority might call for a closed vote. True, this last type of vote is envisaged apparently exclusively for personal issues, that is, for some specific appointment. After a series of votes, which had the deputies all hot and bothered, the Speaker devised the novel unique formula of a secret personally registered vote, which the Congress adopted.

It looks as if the deputies are afflicted by a neurosis. After all, how can one vote for what is stuff and nonsense? How can one vote for one thing and then follow up by voting for the complete opposite?

At the news conference the Russian Unity faction gave, Victor Astafiev read out a text in rather ungrammatical odd Russian, which he claimed was that of an agreeement which President Yeltsin and President Bush had concluded recently. He averred that this agreement sought to deliberately destroy Russia's defence potential and encroached upon the state's national interests. However, he adduced no evidence apart from his own conviction that this was God's truth.

In a law-governed state, every charge laid must be proved, for otherwise one is taken to court for libel. That is all very true and deputy Astafiev agrees. However, he well knows that the Congress will never strip him of parliamentary immunity and have him arraigned should the text prove false. He well knows that he is not running any risk and will not be called to account, just like deputy Tuleyev, who was nailed as liar. Law and decency do not worry the deputies. Corporate interests come first.

Such is the transit Congress, the Congress of the transition period. Unaccountable either to party, as parties do not exist, or to the electorate, as the recall machinery is inoperative and the deputies know they will not be elected for a second term, this Congress is as much of a danger as a losely rolling ship's cannon.

Marina Shakina

Afterword to a non-coup

Five nameless deputies rescue Russia from constitutional coup. Only till spring, though

The Number One issue at the Congress comprised those constitutional amendments which were to enforce the government law Parliament had enacted.

Under the operative Constitution, the President designates the Premier for subsequent parliamentary approval. As for the cabinet, the President accepts the Premier's proposals who thus makes up his own team.

The said amendments relegated to Parliament powers to approve and dismiss all key ministers – of economics, finance, foreign affairs, internal affairs, defence, security, the press, justice, etc. Had they been adopted, the Speaker would have then been the key to portfolios, given the manipulation of the Russian Parliament that Khasbulatov has wangled. Small wonder he put his best foot forward to accomplish that.

The "secrecy" cat

To this end he resorted to the procedure of a secret vote. Yet it would not be fair to accuse the deputies with their Speaker of "fearing the electorate" and of thus deciding "to hide in the voting booths." The deputies have long lost fear of the electorate and care nothing for their electoral promises.

It appears, though, that to assemble the two thirds necessary to amend the Constitution is not that easy, firstly because many of the non-politicized deputies comprising the notorious "Khasbulatovian mire" take time out smoking, drinking coffee or having pow-wows. Hence, to get everyone in the two hours specified to pop into the voting booths just once was much simpler than trying to gather them all together in the chamber.

On the whole, this was shown to be right. Only five votes were lacking to constitutionally endorse the new procedure for composing the government. The amendment was recorded in three voting papers, inasmuch as the respective changes had to be introduced into three articles of the Constitution, one concerned with Presidential powers, the second with parliamentary powers, and the third with the procedure for composing the cabinet. As regards one, the results were declared invalid, but as concerned the other two, the results were almost parallel, which meant that they were not accidental. In other words, there were 690 yeas and respectively 134 and 133 nays. Each time nine deputies had misfilled their voting papers, which means that next time they may complement the "yeas."

Director-general Yuri Gekht, Chairman of the Industrial Alliance faction, confidently declares that at the next congress in April the unfortunate mistake will be rectified and the constitutional coup accomplished. Do the few deputies backing the government and President have any resources up their sleeves?

"New directors"?

The majority currently voting against the executive is not one homogenous mass. They are welded by that spirit of corporative solidarity, which Khasbulatov so skilfully manipulates when he reminds the deputies whenever the opportunity begs that they are the true popularly-elected masters, whereas the executive continuously encroaches upon their prerogatives. This "jealousy" has its history; the Congress and Soviets as really elected bodies first appeared in Russia in 1990, whereas the Presidential vertical came a year later.

That means that for a whole year the deputies felt that they were the sole legitimate representatives of the interests of the people – discounting the old apparat structures, of course. Now they find it hard to part with that feeling. Nevertheless, looming more and distinctly behind the concerted No! to Yeltsin's appeals and requests, behind the slogans and the political demagoguery are the very tangible interests of political groups that do not always dovetail with the parliamentary factions.

The managerial executives in industry and farming, to wit "the landed gentry and the capitalists," need not so much subservience of the executive to the law-makers, and not so much ministerial posts, as a tangible change in the government's course. Though they of course will not admit to being "opposed to reform," they simply cannot tolerate prospects of insolvency at their respective enterprises. They have said time and again that it would not only be possible but even desirable to keep Gaidar as Premier, provided he

agreed to revert to the system of investing heavily in factories and collective farms.

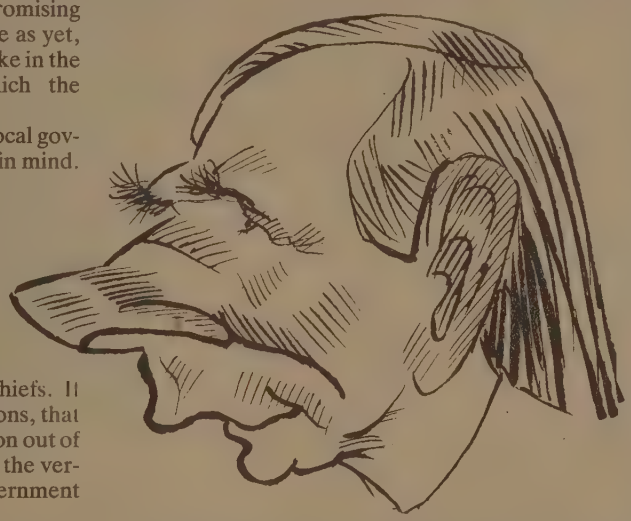
As the reform progresses, the unity of their ranks – which concerns the "director lobby" outside Congress as well – weakens somewhat, insofar as those who have adapted to the new economics are now dead set against a change of leadership or of any of the new rules of the game, and on the whole advocate a sustained balance. One such man is Igor Zhilin, a director-general from Rossosh, near Voronezh, who on key matters voted at the Congress with the radical democrats. The "new directors" are a promising segment, though not that large as yet, as they have an unreserved stake in the "stabilization program," which the President proposes.

The deputies representing local government have other priorities in mind. What they mainly seek is to weaken the executive as best possible locally, place it under their own thumb, and on no account let its structures run privatization. The Number One issue for them is the election of local administrative chiefs. If they could control these elections, that would bring local administration out of presidential control and upset the vertical implementation of government decisions.

Thus, deputy Pyotr Sumin, Chairman of the Chelyabinsk regional Soviet, said he would filibuster until a vote was taken on the issue. True, the Congress, or rather Khasbulatov, preferred to authorize Parliament to set the date for such an election. The Speaker thus has fresh leverage now for bringing pressure to bear on the President. It was these deputies who shouted loudest for abolition of the institution of presidential representatives. The respective paragraph was incorporated in the "Resolution on the progress of the economic reform" and evidently the Constitutional Court will have to decide who may forbid the President to designate representatives wherever he believes it necessary and why.

A five-vote miss

Mostly voting against the government also are representatives of the national minorities from the erstwhile autonomies. What usually motivates them are fears that a stronger executive could menace their national and regional interests. Actually they care nothing for the reform model chosen. They also see themselves threatened by the most rabid and aggressive opponents of the government from among the "patriots" advocating "Russian statehood," such as Sergei Baburin, Nikolai Pavlov or, for instance, Gennady Sorokin, who whenever a vote is taken with respect to one or another person invariably evinces interest in that person's origins even to the point of asking what the surnames of his parents are. As a result of opposition to



the "patriots," the Council of Nationalities, which had originally been seen as the bulwark of the diehards, has latterly become more "pro-President" than the Council of the Republic.

Boris Yeltsin intimated in his report to the Congress that he was prepared for a rapprochement with the Chamber of Nationalities. It is quite likely that this is where the President and the government may rally support.

The executive has a very restricted field for manoeuvre and compromise. For the President, and the more so for Gaidar and his team, it is important not only to stay in the saddle and extend influence, but also not to concede their concept of reform, which they see as the only way out of the crisis and for the sake of which they accepted such high office.

Hence the President's intransigence, which the Civic Union denounces, along with his reluctance to surrender one or another key ministerial office. Indeed, what is he to do? After all, it is truly impossible to combine an anti-inflationary policy with heavy investment in production, reduced taxation and more money for social needs. Realization that any step away from the narrow path, which the Acting Premier indicated in his report, may result in full collapse, restricts options for compromise.

Yet at the Seventh Congress, Russia's lot was decided not by the industrialists or the "nationals," but by those few deputies who preferred to heed their own notions of a rational sensible state structure, to see the government as accountable to Parliament and to invest it with powers to legislative initiative, implying amendments endorsed by secret vote, but were against complete renunciation of the principle of the division of authority. There are some thirty such deputies, but under three percent of the total body; however, if not for them, we would already be living in a different state.

When vital issues are at stake, it is the stand of the far from the more numerous category which may be definitive. Moreover, if before April the move towards reform becomes really tangible, that segment of independently thinking lawmakers may swell.

The Congress was keynoted by one more development, when for the first time the Speaker dared to come out against the President. Now it was not only the government, but the entire "executive arm" that he warned of its "Pyrrhic victory." What the Speaker really has in mind is not the ouster of Gaidar and his team or the regearing of economic policy, but the manifest desire to expand his personal authority outside Parliament. That is why he discredits the present government and plays up its unpopularity as the most convenient means of securing his objective.

Is it simply sheer annoyance and the absense of self-control – indeed, Khasbulatov was only too human as he missed by just a mere five votes? Or does he really feel strong enough now to take on the President?

Galina Kovalskaya

Drawings by Vladimir Mochalov

The divorce honeymoon

Since the spring of 1990 Lithuania has not only been an indicator of the thoroughness of the USSR's disintegration, but also one of the brightest stars on the world politics horizon. The cloudy January of 1991 placed the tiny republic at the very centre of the world's attention, not to mention the country which was still called the Soviet Union in those days.

Now the Baltics events suddenly seem insignificant and distant, as if viewed through reversed binoculars. No wonder: after the horrors of the civil war in Tajikistan, after the bloodshed in the Dniester region and the events in Abkhazia (hardly registered already by public consciousness), January 1991 Vilnius has become a thing of the past.

The page has been turned, and we are left marvelling at how quickly we have become foreign to each other.

The return of phantoms?

Moscow rapidly lost its former passionate interest in "Baltia" in which the Soviet people, with the partiality natural in lovers, saw a certain likeness to Europe.

But the results of the November 1992 elections again placed Lithuania in the focus of universal attention. These elections, for the first time in an ex-Union republic (and for the second time in Eastern Europe, the first loser being Vaclav Havel), resulted in defeat for the political bloc which was the symbol of the struggle for independence and of post-com-

Policies won't change after the Brazauskas party's victory

Brazauskas and Gorbachev: neither allies nor even like-minded

The Russian troops are leaving Lithuania, but Russia's strategic interests in the Baltics remain

munist national life. Lithuania's ability at playing the role of a barometer of universally important political processes, which it had more than once demonstrated, made political analysts offer a variety of forecasts concerning a possible "chain reaction," removing a whole generation of politicians from the political scene, including those in Russia.

The very figure of the victorious party's leader, Algirdas Brazauskas of Lithuania's Democratic Labour Party, who, as First Secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, was only yesterday seen side by side with CPSU CC General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, gave election results a tinge of the returning of the past.

This furnished confirmed "democrats" with the occasion to resume talking about a "revanchist communist threat," while the "unionists," who hadn't given up on restoring the Union, were, on the contrary, given a new gleam of hope.

It seems that Sajudis, embarrassed by defeat, failed make a quick and adequate response. The days before the second tour of the elections abounded in most troubling rumours and expectations of harsh actions on the part of the ruling bloc, which retained its traditional positions in Kaunas.

Everything went smoothly, however, and it's not ruled out that there had been psychological "soundings of the ground" or, maybe, even an attempt to indirectly influence the electorate, inviting them to revise their position in view of a threat of civil war. The second round of elections, however, became a still more convincing demonstration of the victory of Lithuania's Democratic Labour Party, to be followed not by the expected confrontation, but by a lengthy meeting between Landsbergis and Brazauskas.

Wanting both independence and comfort

The most remarkable result of their meeting was evidently Brazauskas's statement that no reorientation of Lithuania's policies to the East was possible and that there could only be a balance between East and West. But, not being satisfied with this, the skilled chess-player Landsbergis made one more move. Talks in NATO headquarters became the highlight of his visit to Brussels where he spearheaded the issue of an "imperial threat" from Russia and, correspondingly, of NATO guarantees. His request found sympathy with Manfred Wörner.

There is no doubt that the purpose of this move was to secure possible support by the West, in case the ex-leader of Lithuanian communists began to drift too much Eastward.

But to what extent is such a drift possible? And how grounded are the hopes of "Unionists," who regard the results of the elections in Lithuania as a sign of "clear-thinking" by the masses and of the possibility of a new quasi-Union rapprochement between Lithuania and Russia? Hopes which, in my opinion, are absolutely unrealistic.

It suffices to spend a couple of days in Lithuania to understand that the reason for the victory of the Democratic Labour Party of Lithuania have nothing to do with nostalgia for the ex-Union. They are concrete and prosaic. Sajudis's achievements in the political and ideological struggle for independence proved to be in reverse proportion to its socio-economic achievements. Whereas yesterday Lithuanian independence from Russia was, in the eyes of Lithuanian society, symbolized by the exhumation of General Chernyakhovsky's remains and removing Pushkin's monument from sight, today severe reality has replaced symbols: cold flats, no hot water, skyrocketting inflation, blasting into space even ahead of Moscow, together with the downward spiral of industrial production.

In such conditions, the victory of the opposition was predetermined, largely because Brazauskas's name and image was tied to the former higher living standard. Sajudis's achievements in attaining independence ended up working against it – since independence has been gained once and for all, the new question becomes how to achieve a more comfortable life.

That is precisely, however, where the main problem lies, the solution of which is key for Lithuania's future development and not only there. It seems, that it's high time to finally recognize that in the foreseeable future Lithuania is unlikely to reach the living standard it had as part of the USSR, when it had a centralized budget, symbolic prices for power supplies and was integrated into the Soviet economic megasystem. There's no point in blaiming Russia for organizing a "blocade" or the like. The simple reason for Lithuania's situation is that the disintegration of the USSR, in which Lithuania had played an outstanding role, resulted in the disintegration of not only former power structures, but also of the entire mutual life-securing system.

Casting a glance at the map

A new reality has come into being, in which the absence of hot water in Vilnius is no headache for Moscow. Even more than that: it begins to dawn on Moscow that even Brazauskas's idea about "mutually advantageous relations" between Lithuania and Russia requires a thorough consideration free from ideological baggage and carried out precisely from the point of view of Russia's own interests and "advantages." Naturally, there can be no question of philanthropy.

Suffice it to cast a glance at the map to understand what Russia's vital interests are, on the basis of which Lithuanian interests could also be honoured.

It's hardly possible to talk about **mutual** advantages as long as the very phrase "Russia's interests in the Baltic region" scares Lithuanians to death. If the USA and NATO have such interests there, and if Poland begins to mention them more and more often, why can't Russia, historically closely connected with the Baltics, have them? Her interests are obvious: sea ports, communication lines, national security. We should not ignore them, but look for legal and truly mutually advantageous forms of implementing them.

Last but not least – the situation of Russian and Russian-speaking citizens in the former Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic. Of course, it's not as bad there as in Latvia or Estonia, yet there are problems. And, naturally, Russia must have normal routes to participate in their solution, without the cry of "imperial chauvinism" being raised.

In short, we are faced with mutual liberation from illusions and with a hard path to the building of new relations based on a strict observance of mutual interests. It's quite possible that internal conflicts are in store for Lithuania where some politicians are quite willing to talk about "trading in national independence." It is also not ruled out that the possibility of the Brazauskas government to consider Russia's interests will from the very outset be limited. This means that Russia needn't be hasty and should always be on guard of her interests. Sounds dull? Probably, but it's more honest, and, consequently, more promising to both sides.

Kseniya Myalo

The Caucasian cauldron

Russian troops leave, step by step, and without official ceremonies and communiques, the Caucasian region where they have been stationed since those remote times when Lieutenant Lermontov and the young Count Tolstoi served there. Their leaving comes as a surprise to no one – after the disintegration of the USSR its units transferred under Russia's jurisdiction found themselves in a rather ambiguous situation in independent Transcaucasian republics. The warring Armenians and Azerbaijanis, as well as Georgians and Abkhazians, accuse them of "aiding and abetting the enemy"; arms depots are not infrequently attacked; servicemen's families are threatened with violence; armed conflicts, both on land and even sea, are becoming more and more frequent. Under this situation, the Russian Command declared late in November that it was ready to withdraw its troops from Georgia at the first request.

More than that, the situation in the North Caucasian republics, part of Russia, becomes increasingly difficult for the Russian soldiers stationed there. The recent bloody conflict between the Ossets and the Ingushes, settled after Russian troops were brought there, nearly resulted in a conflict with the Chechen Republic, headed by the belligerent champion of Independence, General Dudayev. No wonder that in Russia herself the mood favouring troop withdrawal, not only from independent Transcaucasian republics, but also from the North Caucasian ones which are part of the Russian Federation, is gaining strength. This idea is hardly realistic, but "the process has been started," as Mikhail Gorbachev used to put it. Most Russians don't want their soldiers to die in these lands and regard the riddance of the "imperial burden" as a blessing.

What does all this mean to the world community? For many decades the Caucasian region has remained isolated from the neighbouring Middle East, to which it is tied by history, geography and by common cultural and religious traditions. The Caucasus is now returning to its natural "geopolitical bosom." However, the Middle East itself is torn by confrontations, conflicts and wars. In the new situation, they threaten to merge with those tormenting the Caucasus.

Divided nations remain the greatest hotbeds of conflicts in both these regions. Karabakh is a convincing example. It's worthwhile remembering that the Kurd question became unprecedentedly acute after the defeat of Iraq in the Gulf War. Its seriousness was felt not only in Iraq, but in neighbouring Iran, Syria and especially in Turkey. Kurds live in all these countries and fight for the creation of their own state with arms in hands. They also live, however, in Transcaucasia, mainly in Armenia. I am not aware of the current situation there other than that until recently there was the only publishing house in the world there which specialized in publishing literature in the Kurdish language.

And what about the Azerbaijanis? They are much more numerous in Iran than in the former Soviet Azerbaijan, where leaders all the same are oriented not towards Iran, but towards Turkey. Turkey itself is engrossed in a continuing struggle with the Islamic state of Iran for hegemony in this region after the disintegration of the USSR. "A slave of shaitan" is far from the strongest expression which the Azerbaijani President would have heard from the fundamentalist MPs should he have visited the Iranian Majlis. They use this word, which means "Satan," to indicate Russia, but more often it refers to America, which in their terminology is "the greater Satan." The enmity towards the latter, though somewhat appeased during the conflict between America and Iraq, Iran's main enemy, is on the upsurge now. In turn, the Americans, including Clinton, don't conceal their disapproval of Iran's policies, primarily the intensified programme of updating its armed forces.

As a result, a new knot is being tightened in the region, because as before, the smell of oil hangs in the air. Some experts foretell a new energy crisis. It should be remembered in this connection that oil deposits stretch from the Persian Gulf to Baku and further to Grozny, the Chechen capital, which largely accounts for the behaviour of their restless leader. It would also be borne in mind that in the Middle East, oil and blood have more than once merged in one stream, which at present runs along the channels of regional ethnic conflicts, so to speak, threatening also to sweep over the Caucasus. A different turn of events is not ruled out either – conflicts in the Caucasian region may trigger off tension or even an explosion in the densely populated and far from peaceful Middle East – with all the ensuing international consequences.

So the world community has reasons to think the situation over. It's not for nothing that the UN forces, which could help stabilize the situation in the Caucasus, are more and more often mentioned in the world's capitals. Unfortunately, the Balcan experience, for instance, has demonstrated that thus far the sky-blue berrets and sashes have been more suitable for parades and receptions than for dirty trenches, not to mention burning tanks. The international community is still unprepared to entrust the UN with peace-keeping functions. It should also be added that the region in question is beyond the competence of NATO, for all Shevardnadze's desire to the contrary, and not all republics of the region are CIS members, which deprives the Commonwealth of the possibility to influence the situation there.

Does this mean that the peoples of the region should be left to stew in their own juice? It looks like it. Yet it would help to create an atmosphere around the region for promoting mutual understanding and reconciliation, rather than intolerance and aggression. To this end, Russia's cultural and spiritual ties with the Caucasus, symbolized by Lermontov and Tolstoi, for whom the region was something more than simply the place where they did military service, are more important than contacts in the political arena.

Dmitry Volsky

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Moskva Hotel anxious for investors

The Moscow authorities have decided to hold a competition among Russian and foreign building companies for the reconstruction of Moskva Hotel.

This unique complex, prestigious thanks to its history and its convenient very centre of Moscow location, is today unable to provide amenities equal to present-day standards. The appearance downtown of five-star rivals, attracting rich guests has left dinosaur-like Moskva remembering better days. The sleek newcomers include the Savoy and the Metropol. The renovation of the National Hotel will only add to the new survival of the fittest atmosphere.

Photo by Alexei Kudenko

Moskva Hotel needs a business centre, high-tech communications, conference halls, recreation and sports facilities with an indoor swimming-pool. Some suites have to be redesigned and enlarged. It would also be good for the hotel to have its own underground garage. In the inner yard, under a glass roof, a so-called atrium is to be built. The blue-prints call for a spacious hall with a winter garden to be used for meetings and receptions.

Such a renovation would take three years, costing some 300 million dollars. The goal is to complete the project by 1995, when the 60th anniversary of the hotel is to be observed. To draw up necessary funds, the hotel administration will offer a contractor, whether foreign or not, to become an investor or shareholder in the association which is to become the owner of the hotel after its privatization.

After railway stations and airports, Moscow hotels are the first city institutions visitors encounter, whether they be from Russia, neighbouring or faraway countries. The guests have different legal statuses, and this makes for different forms of payment. Some pay in rubles, while others are required to pay in hard currency. Almost every day conflicts break out over payment of hotel bills. We need, without delay, clear juridical documents defining the rates and order of payment in all of Moscow hotels.

Indian goods for Russia

The Indian government has decided to give Russia another part of the technical credit it offered in 1992 to fund Russian purchases of tea, tobacco, spices, medicines and other commodities Russians need.

According to the *Economic Times*, the credit is 2.25 million rupees, or 75 million US$.

Foreign firms occupy Tyumen

Tyumen sources report that it is absolutely impossible to find accommodation in any of the local hotels despite a cost of 70 dollars per day. It appears that the hotels are filled with representatives of foreign firms.

According to information from the company B-Gas-C, more than 500 foreign companies now have representatives in Tyumen offering technology, "know-how" and investments.

Companies are cautious about signing actual contracts because of the unsure position of the Russian government and the absence of investment guarantees. Nevertheless, around 100 Russian-foreign joint projects, ranging from oil-field development to environment protection, are now under way.

Considering the abundance of projects, Tyumen authorities plan to organize a tender which would stipulate the requirement of long-range investments in the region's oil-producing industries.

U.S. to store Russian harvest?

The USA is currently building 300 warehouses in Russia to deal with the food storage problem, said Armisos, coordinator of the U.S. aid programme to the former USSR. Americans estimate that up to 30 percent of the Russian harvest is lost due to bad storage facilities. The U.S.-built warehouses will help Russia live through the winter, which promises to be a hard one for its population.

Canadian business in Moscow

The Moscow city government recently signed a trade and economic agreement with Montreal. The bilateral protocol signed by both mayors covers different areas of municipal cooperation.

The cooperative projects to be developed include an agreement to work on the creation of a monorail system connecting two Moscow airports with the downtown area. The firm AMF, which is to participate in this project, will soon import up to five thousand railway wheelpairs from Russia.

Another Canadian firm, Bell Canada, has signed a contract on improving the phone system in the Russian capital. The Montreal company ALGO is preparing to provide four million Canadian dollars worth of clothes and other commodities for Moscow shops.

How Moscow investors are rated

Firms from Germany, Austria and Italy are the leaders among foreign companies in Moscow. This fact was recently stated by the chief of the Scientific-Industrial Developing Committee of the Moscow city government, Vladimir Evtushenkov. He also stated that the city government grants certain financial and taxation benefits to those companies that help with the development of the Moscow infrastructure. Mr. Evtushenkov also said that the Moscow city government had decided to create Free Economic Zones in Sheremetyevo (the international airport location) and in Zelenograd (the centre of the electronics industry near Moscow) to increase the influx of foreign investments.

Walking on gold

Dumps at the Leninogorsk Mine will help Kazakhstan replenish its gold reserves.

Experts indicate that the dumps contain 85 metric tons of gold and 650 tons of silver. Goldbelt Resources of Canada will help with processing the valuable wastes. The project is not likely to require more than 35 million US$.

DOSSIER

ON URGENT MEASURES TO IMPROVE PAYMENT SETTLEMENTS IN THE ECONOMY AND ENHANCE RESPONSIBILITY OF ENTERPRISES FOR THEIR STATE

To ameliorate the crisis of payments and normalize the financial situation at state enterprises and agencies, the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Russian Federation Government deem it necessary to take efforts to replenish the working capital of enterprises and agencies through internal and borrowed funds, raise the efficiency of payment settlements in the economy and enhance the responsibility of banks, enterprises and agencies for the state of discipline in payment settlements. For this purpose the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Government of the Russian Federation hereby rule:

1. The Russian Federation Economics Minisitry, Finance Ministry and Central Bank shall make a thorough analysis and submit, within a week's time, proposals concerning the procedure for addressing the problem of defaults of payments by state enterprises and organizations.

2. Heads of local administrations, chiefs of ministries and departments, together with governors of the principal departments of the Russian Federation Central Bank and the appropriate commercial banks shall organize work to offset the debts of enterprises to one another, on a regional, industry-wide basis or those of an individual enterprise.

Chief executives of enterprises shall determine the debts their enterprises owe to one another and offset the debts within a month's time.

3. The Central Bank of the Russian Federation shall be recommended to extend credits to commercial banks, for them to give special credits to state enterprises and agencies to replenish their working capital upon application of state enterprises and organizations.

In case of need, the government of the Russian Federation shall guarantee the credits that state enterprises and organizations receive from commercial banks to increase their working capital.

Charges in percentage points of the amount of a credit shall be collected from the enterprises and organizations receiving this credit. Their size is to be set by the Central Bank of Russia, and a commercial bank may set a margin of not higher than 3 percent.

4. The government's proposal shall be accepted that the Central Bank of the Russian Federation open a special credit line to it so as to normalize payments in the economy.

5. It shall be established that the credits extended under Item 3 of this regulation shall be used by enterprises only to pay for accounting documents for goods, services, work done and for payments to the budget.

It shall be established that pending the promulgation of the laws "On Pledge" and "On Bankruptcy (Insolvency) of Enterprises," commercial banks shall use the property of enterprises and organizations, with corresponding pledge obligations documented, as collateral for the said credits.

The Russian Federation Central Bank shall be permitted, if need arises, to adjust the corresponding normative economic indicators of commercial banks that participate in giving credits to state enterprises and organizations to increase their working capital.

The commercial banks that used the credit resources extended to them by the Central Bank of the Russian Federation to credit the increase of the working capital of enterprises and organizations, for purposes other than those for which they were extended, shall bear liability, including the possibility of the revocation of their operating licenses, irrespective of the time when the infractions are detected.

6. The Russian Federation Finance Ministry shall provide for the financing of the agencies and organizations drawing funds from the public budget within the amounts of the republican budget for the 2nd quarter of this year that are allowed for execution. If need arises, the Russian Central Bank shall extend a credit for this purpose in accordance with established procedure.

7. The Central Bank of the Russian Federation shall be charged with the development, within a week's time, of a system of measures to normalize payment settlements in the economy that would meet the conditions of a market economy and the need to give wide currency to bills and cheques in the economy.

It shall be established that enterprises make payment settlements via correspondent accounts of banks they open with one another or at branches of the Central Bank of the Russian Federation. Commercial banks shall be extended the right to establish clearing institutions.

It shall be confirmed that payment settlements with the contracting parties located in the CIS countries shall be via correspondent accounts with the Central Bank of the Russian Federation.

8. A penalty be introduced on July 1, 1992, for delay of payment to a supplier, equal 0.5 percent per day in cases when its size is not predetermined by the buyer and the supplier in the shipment agreement.

Provided a bank is at fault for a failure to accrue a payment to a customer's account, the bank shall pay a penalty for the benefit of the supplier for each day of delay of the accrual of the payment, the penalty being equal to 0.5 percent per day.

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9. The Russian Federation Finance Ministry shall send in due order to the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet a proposal on granting profit tax exemption in 1992 to state enterprises, agencies and organizations, provided they use the profits to replenish their working capital or repay the credits extended for the purpose.

10. It shall be recognized as necessary to make the disposal of the capital of the consumption fund at state enterprises and organizations dependent on the size of the overdue debts for the shipment of products (goods, services). The Labour Ministry, the Finance Ministry and the Economics Ministry shall send the corresponding proposals to the government within a week's time.

11. It shall be established that state enterprises and organizations that have overdue payments to suppliers as of July 1, 1992, shall put on the market their foreign exchange assets generated after January 1, 1992, and other marketable financial assets (bank deposit certificates, shares, government bonds, etc.) to repay overdue debts. The sale of marketable financial assets shall begin in July 1992 in such a manner as to sell at least 20 percent of their value as of July 1, 1992.

12. The Russian Federation ministries and agencies shall take the required measures to bring the legal base and the economic activities of the enterprises and organizations that are accountable to them into conformity with the decisions taken by legislative and executive bodies in connection with the promotion of market relations.

13. The Russian Federation State Committee for Economic Cooperation shall suggest that CIS countries that are members of the ruble zone get involved with the implementation of measures to improve payment settlements in the economy.

The Central Bank of the Russian Federation shall agree with the countries in the ruble zone on the ceilings of permissible debts on the correspondent accounts of the Central Bank of the Russian Federation with the central banks of the CIS member countries.

First Deputy Chairman
of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet
S.Filatov

First Deputy Chairman
of the Government
of the Russian Fedeation
Ye.Gaidar

Moscow, House of Soviets
May 25, 1992, No 2837-I

PROSPECTS FOR DEVELOPMENT OF NORTHWESTERN RUSSIA
(regional forecast)

We continue the publication in this issue of materials on the economy of northern Russia. This issue covers the Murmansk, Arkhangelsk and Vologda regions, as well as the republics of Komi and Karelia.

General economic indicators. The northern part of European Russia accounts for 8.8 percent of the Russian Federation's territory. It has a population of 6.2 million, with an average population density of 3.9 people per square kilometre. Urban population comprising 78 percent of the whole population is growing.

The northern part of European Russia produces around 30 percent of crude phosphates in the CIS, around 50 percent of aluminium ore, more than 60 percent of titanium ore, 4.5 percent of iron ore, more than 10 pecent of timber, as well as nearly 30 percent of fuel and energy in the European part of the CIS.

Experts at the Russian Federation State Committee for the Socio-Economic Development of the North have two scenarios for the development of the region.

The optimistic scenario is only possible if the Russian government manages to prevent sharp cuts in production in the basic industries, first and foremost those connected with the defense sector, in 1992 and 1993. This will give a chance for the region's economy to do away with major government investments and seek the development of extractive sectors, better processing of raw materials, defense conversion and the use of converted defense facilities to develop the shelf of the northern seas. Under this scenario, the economy of the region might stabilize by 1993 or 1994.

The pessimistic scanario predicts a 30 percent decline in demand for the products of the basic industrial sectors, leading to a worsening financial and economic state of the enterprises, rising unemployment and social tension. Stabilization would then only be possible by 1996.

Experts say that whichever scenario is implemented, the region's economy will see a growing role in the engineering complex, electricity generation and non-ferrous metallurgy. The region's industry may sustain the following structural changes:

Structure of Industrial Production in the North between 1990 and 2005

Industry (%)	Share of gross output		
	1990	1995	2005
Industry,	100	100	100
including: electricity generation	5.0	4.7	5.0
fuel	6.2	6.1	6.0
ferrous metallurgy	14.1	13.7	9.0
non-ferrous metallurgy	6.2	6.8	11.0
chemical	4.5	4.8	7.0
engineering and metalworking	18.6	20.0	25.0
timber, timber processing, pulp and paper	27.3	26.2	18.0
construction materials	4.5	4.2	4.0
light indsutry	5.6	5.9	10.0
food industry	8.0	7.5	5.0

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Development of off-shore deposits in the Barents Sea and the Kara Sea. The crisis in the Russian oil industry is worsening. Oil production is expected to drop by 50 to 60 million metric tons and natural gas output, by 25 to 30 billion cubic metres. Experts say that in the foreseeable future the Russian resource base will exist only in the regions with extreme climatic conditions, including the shelf zones in the Arctic seas. For example, large gas condensate deposits (1 to 5 trillion cubic metres of gas) were found in the Barents Sea and the Kara Sea. A large deposit was found in the Pechora Sea.

But these deposits can hardly be tapped within the next 7 to 10 years, even if major Western companies participate. According to experts, Russia should produce a scheme to develop oil and natural gas resources in 1992 and 1993, organize exploration drilling in the off-shore zones of the northern seas in 1993 and 1995, begin to attract foreign investments before the year 2000 (the project is estimated to require up to 10 billion US$), and advance technologies to prepare to put the first deposits into operation in 2000 through 2005.

The use of the defense complex in the region that is largely engaged in shipbuilding, could make domestic exploration and work equipment competitive, experts report.

Defense conversion. The defense complex produces around a half of all engineering output in the northern part of European Russia. It may develop under a couple of scenarios in the coming years, according to experts.

Scenario 1 provides for the stoppage of a large part of capacities due to the sharp trimming of defense orders and a lack of government support. In this case the potential of the defense complex can hardly be used to modernize extractive industries.

Scenario 2 is predicated on broad governmental support and the attraction of long-term domestic and foreign credits. In this case, defense industries can be retooled to manufacture high-tech products.

Population migration and food supply. During the last 20 years, the region's population increased faster than average Russian figures, but the growth of the working population lagged behind. At present the number of retirees in the Extreme North alone is around 230,000. More than 60 percent of them are willing to move south to Central Russia, given a chance.

RUSSIAN FEDERATION PRESIDENT'S DECREE ON IMPLEMENTATION OF VOUCHER SYSTEM IN THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

With the goal of accelerating the transfer of public property to Russian citizens and the involvement in the process of privatization of broad masses of the population and pursuant to the State Program for Privatization of Public and Municipal Property of Enterprises in the Russian Federation, I hereby rule as follows:

1. Beginning on October 1, 1992, a system of privatization accounts (vouchers) shall be operational in the Russian Federation.

2. Every citizen of the Russian Federation shall be entitled to one voucher at equal par value of each issue.

A Russian Federation citizen obtains his/her voucher upon payment of a commission fee.

3. Vouchers are issued in accordance with decrees of the Russian Federation president.

The issue of securities or the creation of other systems for the unpaid-for privatization by Russian Federation citizens and their association of federal and municipal property in republics, territories, regions, autonomous regions, autonomous districts, the cities of Moscow and St.Petersburg, districts and towns is prohibited.

4. The Provisions on Vouchers, as attached to the Decree, is approved.

5. The par value of a voucher issued in 1992 shall be set at 10,000 rubles.

A commission fee payable to obtain a voucher issued in 1992 shall be set at 25 rubles.

It shall be established that vouchers issued in 1992 are effective from October 1, 1992, to December 31, 1993.

6. The government of the Russian Federation shall do as follows:

establish, before September 1, 1992, a procedure for the payment of a commission fee for the collection of a voucher by a citizen;

issue and begin the distribution, not later than October 1, 1992, of vouchers issued in 1992 to the citizens of the Russian Federation.

7. The Russian Federation State Committee for the Management of Public Property, in consultation with the State Legislation Administration of the Russian Federation president shall do as follows:

provide for the development and enactment, before August 15, 1992, of normative acts required for the issue, distribution and payment of vouchers;

develop and approve, before September 1, 1992, Provisions on Special Investment Funds which will accumulate vouchers.

8. Councils of Ministers of the republics within the Russian Federation, administrations of territories, regions, autonomous regions, autonomous districts, the cities of Moscow and St.Petersburg, districts, towns, town districts shall do as follows:

provide for the Russian Federation Small Savings Bank and branches thereof, premises required for the Russian Federation Small Savings Bank to carry out its functions in the distribution of vouchers; in cooperation with the State Committee for the Management of Public Property of the Russian Federation, provide for the reimbursement of the expenses incurred by the Small Savings Bank of the Russian Federation.

9. Organizations and enterprises, including trading ones, cannot accept vouchers as payment for goods, services, and works.

10. This decree shall become operational pursuant to and following the procedures established by the November 1, 1991, resolution of the 5th Congress of People's Deputies of the RSFSR "On Legal Basis for Economic Reform."

President of the Russian Federation
Boris Yeltsin
Moscow, Kremlin
August 14, 1992, No 914

DOSSIER

HARD CURRENCY TRANSACTIONS FOR NATURAL AND JURIDICAL PERSONS

Moscow Bank of the Russian Federation Savings Bank 109544 Moscow, Bolshaya Andronyevskaya St., 18/6
Phone 298-1152
Fax 298-1713

CASH AND NON-CASH HARD CURRENCY PURCHASE IN THE MOSCOW BRANCHES

7974/01533	Anadyrsky Pr., 21	472-6786
7970/01080	Lobachevskogo St., 2	432-5874
7811/01531	Olimpiysky Prosp., 10/2	288-4678
6901/01530	Aviamotornaya St., 51	273-5248
7981/01539	Sovyetskoy Armii St.,17	289-1281
5281/01520	Stromynka St., 19	269-4433
4812/01525	Leninskiye Gory, MGU	939-5972
7977/01538	Yunykh Lenintsev St., 37	179-7179
2695/01524	Srednaya Pervomayskaya St., 38/7	463-9770
1564/01534	Gvozdeva St., 7/4	272-2110
8181/01540	Profsoyuznaya St., 43/2	331-101
7979/01529	Chertanovskaya St., 32 building 1	314-6111
7969/01522	Astrakhansky Per., 10	280-9616
5289/01526	Volgogradsky Prosp., 1	276-3301
7973/01519	Svobody St., 65	497-6609
7982/01536	Chernyakhovskogo St., 9a	152-7658
7972/01528	Nemansky Pr., 9	942-3624
7980/01534	Obrucheva St., 28 building 5	434-6605

HARD CURRENCY EXCHANGE VNESHECONOMBANK BRANCHES

Serpukhovskoy Val St., 8 (for foreign citizens)	952-4518
Novy Arbat Prosp., 14 (for Russian citizens going abroad	291-4180
Smolensky Bulvar 13 (for Russian citizens going abroad)	244-0692
Airports Sheremetyevo-I	
Sheremetyevo-II	

HARD CURRENCY TRANSACTIONS FOR NATURAL AND JURIDICAL PERSONS IN COMMERCIAL BANKS

Commercial People's Bank of Moscow
117049, Moscow, Zhitnaya St., 12 — 237-4124

Incombank
(hard currency transactions for juridical entities)
105118, Moscow, Volnaya St., 19 — 365-5356

(non-trade hard currency deeds for natural and juridical persons) — 332-0690
117420. Moscow Nametkina St., 14 building 1 — 332-0691 332-0657

Jeffrey Sachs:

"Reforms have a chance of working if they are allowed to work"

Why does the bank give money to industry if it produces only tanks?

Jeffrey Sachs, professor of Harvard University and head of a group of Western advisers to the Russian President, explains why, after the latest trip to Moscow, he does not want any longer to bear responsibility for the depreciation of the rouble. The American economist was interviewed by our reporter **Irina LAGUNINA.**

New Times International. You managed to curb hyperinflation in Bolivia. In Poland your plan of going over to a market economy seems to have succeeded. But in Russia shock therapy did not prove effective. Why?

Jeffrey Sachs. Russia could have the same thing now as Poland. Basically I do not think there are deep economic differences, but it looks like Russia is going to have chaos instead because of the different political situation.

Basically, the going over to a market economy involves cutting down the state monopoly economy first of all, the military industrial complex in particular, to allow new sectors in the economy start to grow. As economists put it, it is the old guns versus butter choice. If you choose less guns you can have more butter. But that means accepting a decline in the military industry or, as you say in Russia, the defence industry.

As the old sectors of the economy decline panic ensues for a couple of reasons. First, there are privileged people in the old sectors, not the workers but the managers, who see their privileges and power threatened, and, second, people think that the decline in one sector means overall decline. They do not understand that it is the beginning of a transformation in which other sectors will develop.

There is steel in abundance, but Russians want shops

Photo by Yuri Gripas

The old guard is still very powerful in Russia. That is why, as soon as the threat to their existence arose, the members of the old guard, together with their representatives in the parliament and state-owned enterprises, began attacking the government for economic mismanagement.

As a result, since this summer enormous subsidies have been given to the old industrial structure to keep it going, even though it does not have customers. The credit given to industry is generating a hyperinflation now, and as the hyperinflation grows nobody wins. The government loses credibility. There is a loss of purpose and direction of

the reforms. People do not understand what is going on, while the hardliners who are causing this disaster are gaining strength, and there is a good chance that they will take over political control soon.

N.T.I. But Arkady Volsky, for instance, does not renounce the reform policy. He is simply against shock therapy and the speeding up of reforms.

J.S. I think Mr Volsky represents the military industrial complex and the forces which protect the old system. But he does it in a rhetoric of slow reform. Let me note that Volsky and Khasbulatov speak only of industry. Following them, the other politicians in Moscow repeat: industry, industry, industry, as if they have an almost one track logic. For some reason it does not occur to them that societies are made of more than industry.

In normal society there are consumer goods and services. If you need you can get a plumber at any moment, not just a ton of steel, and you can get your house painted, not just own a tank. If you want to have all this you have to carry out reforms now, and as quickly as possible. Volsky is not a centrist. Under the guise of concern for employment he tries to persuade the people that they will be better off if Russia continues to produce steel and tanks rather than all the things they badly need now – medicines, services, and so forth. The policies imposed by "industrialists" are fundamentally destabilizing the country right now.

Keynes said something very smart in 1919. He said that debauching a currency was the surest way to destroy a society because inflation aligned all destructive forces but did it in a way that not one person in a million could really understand. In Russia today no one really understands the monetary aspects of the problem – not the public, not the politicians, and so you have politicians who believe that budget deficits do not matter, that printing money is a good thing. They claim that they are right and consider people like me as naive economists who read textbooks and do not undetstand the real world. And I cannot remember seing a society at the edge of disaster like Russia is right now.

Hyperinflation has done all sorts of things in history. It was a forerunner of the rise of fascism early this century. In the 1970s it was a forerunner of civil war in Argentina. Each country will find its own way to chaos. I do not know exactly what will happen in Russia.

In the West the consumers can buy what they want to buy

N.T.I. You have probably heard the widespread argument that neither Russia nor its population were prepared for reforms, that the Russians have acquired a different mentality over the past decades.

J.S. In spite of all statements by Volsky and Khasbulatov the people have basically supported the reforms. This has not been a year in Russia in which huge demonstrations, marches or riots pushed this policy. The people have remained calm. They are not happy, of course, and I can understand them. However, they have remained patient. It is strange therefore that giving money to enterprises of the military industrial complex, the Central Bank says it does this in the name of the people. In fact, this is precisely what makes the pensioners' income insufficient, takes the purchasing power away from the poor and keeps the resources away from the services sector and the light industry.

N.T.I What is the role of former Union republics in the deplorable monetary situation in Russia?

J.S. It reminds me of the situation created by the granting of credits to enterprises of the military industrial complex. The Central Bank has been giving large credits to the other states of the Commonwealth so that they keep buying Russian industrial goods and support the Russian industry in this way. The managers of the military industrial complex do not care whether they get paid by the Central Bank, Ukraine or a real customer. To me it is intolerable how a country that is destroying itself through reckless monetary policy can give money to other states. I do not understand why Russia sells oil to the other republics at one tenth of the world price. How can Russia afford to do this now? These republics have decided to become independent – fine! But then they should have their own money and live on their own income.

N.T.I. The IMF did not recommend the Commonwealth states to have their own currencies.

J.S. The IMF has already admitted it was a mistake. For some reason its economists thought it would be too complicated to introduce a new currency.

N.T.I. There is one more argument against your plan of shock therapy. It is impossible to go over to market relations unless there is private ownership. Perhaps the way of implementing reforms was upset?

J.S. If this logic is followed we should begin from the socialist revolution. There should not have been a socialist revolution in my view. It was a very bad idea to nationalize all of the industry.

Russia happens to have 130,000 state-owned enterprises. It will take a long time to privatize them. In the meantime you have a risk of hyperinflation. Incidentally, this is exactly what was done in Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and all through Eastern Europe. This strategy is working. Perhaps it is not perfect, but neither was the communist idea the best scheme for the progress of humankind.

Why can Poles, like all civilized people, go to shops and buy what they need? That would be a good idea for Russia. Why is it that 160 countries can organize proper shops with goods in them and services while Russia can't?

N.T.I. Many economists say your comparison of Russia with Poland is beneath criticism because the private sector existed there before reforms had been started and Poles had the commercial vein.

J.S At the beginning of reforms in Poland the state-owned enterprises made up 95 percent of industry and about 80 percent of the economy. By now industry is 65 percent state-owned, and the economy as a whole is 50 percent state-owned. So the boundaries are quickly shifting to private ownership. I think that next year the economy will be decisively private ownership.

These changes have not happened overnight, but they have been brought about rather quickly. One can argue about the rate of privatization. I would like to see it go faster. But on the whole I am very pleased with how fast it has gone. Warsaw has changed beyond recognition. There have sprung up more than 700,000 new small businesses and over 50,000 new corporations in the last two and a half years. Poland has today a normal consumer market. It is the best in Eastern Europe and is considered among the best in Central Europe. People say that it is even better to shop in Warsaw than in Vienna now because in Warsaw you can get everything and shops are opened 24 hours a day, whereas in Vienna they are forced by regulatory laws to close at 9 p.m.

N.T.I. In Bolivia, inflation was 40,000 percent a year before reforms were started, and after the reforms it was 15 percent. Did economic situation in that country differ from what you see in Russia?

J.S. It differed much less than you would imagine. It is not so important where reforms are carried out. If you double the money supply in two months you are going to have inflation afterwards because your currency will lose its value. The ruble has collapsed while the Central Bank governor scratches his head and says I can't imagine what is happening.

He says it must be that the foreign exchange market does not work well and is filled with speculators. He is very confused. However, he raised the money supply two and a half times, or 150 percent, and the value of the ruble collapsed. A big surprise! It's page two of introductory monetary economics. It's page two, not page one because page one is defining money.

There is no fundamental difference in how inflation begins in Bolivia, Poland or Russia. But in Russia everyone says: we are unique, this is a very complicated country, it does not work the same way here. A Western expert, I am told in Moscow, should first understand Russia and then give his recommendations. This is what the Central Bank chairman says, too.

Poor country.

N.T.I. I do not think that the Central Bank chairman is original in his arguments. Indeed, it is very difficult to imagine what will happen in the country if the entire industry stops working.

J.S. You know, what is not understood in Russia is that in the United States, for example, industry makes up 23 percent of the economy. There is more to economic life than a steel mill and a tank factory.

You can walk all through Harvard Square, and you will not see one steel mill there. You will see book stores, drug stores, apartment buildings, restaurants, hotels, travel agencies. You will not see one tank factory in the whole city. It is a very fundamental point. Who is this economy for. It should be for consumers to buy what they want to buy. And if you do that it turns out that Russian consumers simply do not want to take home a ton of steel once a week.

The former Soviet Union produced 80 percent more steel than the United States. It produced 160 million metric tons of steel while the United States 90 million.

I have not bought a ton of steel in a long time. My prosperity does not depend on steel. I doubt that the Russians want all that steel for winter. So when you talk about a market economy you have a basic choice – are you going to allow the consumer to dictate what happens or are you going to deprive him of that choice?

N.T.I. But the Russian consumer does not understand that. The people still believe that the might and prosperity of their state depend on the amount of steel produced in it. Are the consumers bad?

J.S. They have never been told that the economy works for them, and that is why they do not know that there's more to an economy than industry.

As a matter of fact, things went well in the first five months of the year except for the fact that when industrial production fell by 15 percent it was viewed as a disaster. Nobody felt it actually. The decline did not directly hurt anybody's living standards. But it was viewed with panic in the country and it's ironic because in Czecho-Slovakia the fall was 30 and in Bulgaria 40 percent. But when it reached 15 percent in Russia politicians described it as a national disaster, and the bank began to extend credits to enterprises of the military industrial complex.

N.T.I. Will you remain Yeltsin's adviser after all that?

J.S. I do not advise for the sake of advising. If the Russian government decides that the reforms should go forward and that economic stabilization should be achieved, then the answer is yes. Otherwise my help will not be useful. I do not think I would have an iota of influence in making the policy more responsible. So I am quite disappointed. I am very worried. So far I do not know how it will all end.

N.T.I. Do you have another client?

J.S. How about my family and my students? That would be enough.

BOSTON

Brain as battlefield

At Moscow's lunatic asylums I have come across patients, who in another country and at another time might have been revered as prophets

Modern science with its practical medical application is now in a position to influence the brain and its functioning, which is why a discussion of the ethical and legal aspects here is so essential.

I would like to note three aspects of brain research, notably restriction of likely means of surgical and physical intervention, the biochemical treatment and stimulation of the brain, and finally a prospect which many, even specialists, might think still science fiction, notably the unlimited prolongation of the life of the brain along with its genetic resurrection.

Patient dreads electroshock

The most commonly known instance of checking possible surgical intervention in the brain is the ban imposed on lobotomy in the USA. As this operation incising the lobes of the brain on the assumption that this could help cure grievous psychic maladies, resulted in total personality changes, it had to be abandoned. The consequences of lobotomy were extensively debated in the news media, in novels and in motion pictures, as for instance, in Forman's well-known *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest.*

Similarly discussed in many countries was the need to prohibit electroshock. In view of my concern with the brain's functional asymmetry, I have had occasion to take part in researches conducted at the laboratory under of L.V. Balonov and V.L.Deglin at the Sechenov Institute in Leningrad. For several years these scientists investigated the difference between the sinistral and dextral hemispheres of the brain, drawing upon one-sided electroshocks for experimental data. When electrodes are applied respectively to the left-hand or right-hand sides of the head, one of the hemispheres is inactivated. It is thought that a series of such shocks would be productive in the case of grievous manic-depression or schizophrenia. Although one-sided shocks, employed as therapy in some US hospitals several decades ago, are relatively milder than bilateral shocks, even dire physical, and possibly psychological trauma is not fully ruled out.

Electroshock, like epileptic fits, may easily damage the spine. The consequences of sinistral shock, in the case of dextrals are reminiscent of a stroke in the left hemisphere that causes paralysis of the right-hand side of the body, accompanied by complete loss of speech followed by aphasia which soon passes. The same symptoms attend bilateral shocks so commonly practised at Moscow's psychiatric hospitals and clinics.

Some ten years ago I witnessed the application of a two-sided electroshock at the Kashchenko hospital. The patient, a young, physically powerful athlete, pleaded with the physicians to deter. He was horrified at the thought what he would have to go through once again. He was injected with a sedative, as is usually done in the case of a one-sided shock, and he quieted down, but during the shock he demonstrated intensive convulsions. So is therapy that provokes so powerful an emotional response justifiable? Apart from that there is the danger that unilateral shock may intensify certain pathological moods (thus a series of sinistral shocks may promote depression, which is associated with the right-hand hemisphere and even facilitate suicidal tendencies: this was hypothetically argued, perhaps unfoundedly, with respect to Hemingway). To avoid such consequences sinistral and dextral shocks are alternated – as was done by physicians on the staff of the Balanov-Deglin laboratory.

Two brains in one

Ethically brain research by means of neurosurgically inserted electrodes is likewise hazy. I personally have heard doubts voiced in this connection by such an eminent cyberneticist as the late M.L.Zeitlin, who devoted much of his time to biology and medicine. Some 30 years ago we discussed the possibility of repeating the experiments conducted by the Canadian nerve surgeon Penfield, who during brain operations studied the functions of individual sections of the cortex by means of electrode stimulation. His assistant chatted with the patient who did not feel any pain as a rule during the operation and who was quite able to communicate, and recorded what words or sounds were voiced when this or that zone of the cortex or even a narrow portion of it was stimulated. Penfield needed this to find whether surgery would not affect the zone responsible for speech.

Less justified is the application of such or analogous methods more specifically, the deep insertion of electrodes in lower subcortical areas, that is employed at certain laboratories, without so distinctly needed surgical intervention. Yet also to be avoided is the opposite danger of artificially restricting possibilities for brain research that may be potentially beneficial in future: let me remind you in this connection how the Catholic Church obstructed initial experiments in pathological anatomy in the old north Italian university of Padua. Yet whatever the case, scarcely can we count ethically justifiable what is being done, judging by some scientific publicatons at some of our laboratories, to investigate intellectual conduct and behaviour under oxygen deficiency.

An illustration of such surgical treatment and brain research keynoted by progress yet evidently not evoking thus far any serious ethical objection is afforded by the work done on a fissured brain for which the American neuropsychologist Sperry merited the Nobel Prize in medicine.

The cutting through, commissurotomy, of the nerve fibres connecting the two hemispheres is effected to radically remove epilepsy. People, who have undergone such operations live normally even though contemporary investigation demonstrates that their sinistral and dextral hemispheres behave as two different brains, and that in a certain sense the patient's personal identity is disturbed.

Efforts to deform the brain by physical impact on the skull were extensively essayed in some ancient societies. Any Russian who has read Chinghiz Aitmatov's novel *The Day Lasts a Century* will have noticed the legend about the "mankurt" zombies, whose brains were deformed by special bands constricting the skull.

Zombies, Maya and narcotics

Similar customs have been reconstructed for some ancient Eurasian tribes including those inhabiting the border area between Mongolia and China where skulls thus deformed have been unearthed, and with the Maya in pre-Columbus America, that Diego de Landa described in his *Communication on Yukatan Affairs*. The methods used to deform the brain, primarily those sections of the cortex governing logically organized behaviour, may be compared to the manner whereby female feet were constricted by wooden sandals in old-time Japan. As regards the Maya, skull deformation from infancy was practised with respect to children of the elite. The changed psyche of the caste could be sustained, as for many other Indian tribes of the New World and also for North Eurasian tribes by the use of narcotic drugs based on ritual and possibly affecting Mayan and Aztecan art. In this respect (as in some other cases, more specifically as regards the constantly increasing number of cruel human sacrifice), the demise of Mexico's ancient cultures appears internally justified: one may discern here the historical sense in eliminating blind alleys in the development of mankind. Upon this current anniversary of America's discovery the respective reminder should be given Europeans when critical stock is taken.

The problem of drugs brings us to the overall issue of chemical regulation of the brain. The recent discovery of *encephalins* and *endorphins* – natural narcotics, which the organism itself generates – is now beginning to explain much as regards how narcotics affect natural mechanisms. *Endorphins* which serve to suppress pain and suffering may be generated under the impact of a range of factors. Most already detected means of amplifying the quantity of *endorphins* derive from rhythm activity such as running, dancing, rhythmical music and sex. This is possibly where we should look for the clue to many of the secrets of the impact of music, lyrical poetry and possibly other arts. Withal raised is a corner of the veil covering the success of such traditional types of Oriental medicine as acupuncture, which last serves to generate *endorphins*. As a rule, *endorphins* may be stimulated by the means listed and also by some other means which partly have still to be elucidated, and related to which is possibly fasting. On the other hand, *endorphins* are not usually assimilated when attempts are made to introduce them externally.

Therein lies their basic difference from narcotics which prey on the mechanisms developed for *endorphin* assimilation. In modern societies one may observe the parallel usage of rhythmic music serving to generate *endorphins*, sex which has a similar effect, and narcotics. Thereby, young people evidently seek to stimulate the brain to a point necessary when under continuous stress. It would be desirable to conduct the comparative investigation of every such means used to suppress stress and their social limitation. The banning of narcotics most likely necessitates a broader role being allotted to stimuli, more specifically of an esthetic character, that could increase *endorphin* generation.

A typical drawing by a schizoid

Russian drunkenness. Stalin's drinking bouts

Many social communities drew extensively on sundry narcotic drugs. The psychophysiological meaning of the respective rituals was to suppress logical functions primarily associated with the sinistral hemisphere, especially its anterior lobes, and meanwhile broaden the imaginative functions of the dextral hemisphere. In that respect contemporary drug addiction compares to the overall irrationalistic tendencies of the latest mass culture, whose dextral hemispheric character is underscored by the role played by such visual means of information as television. Characteristic are cases when earlier unlimited television watching may complicate the sinistral hemispherical speech development of a child and subsequently interfere with its literacy, for which the sinistral hemisphere is also responsible.

From the evolutionary angle, forms of communication by chemical signalization are lowest. In that sense societies in which religious rituals, as in the case of certain archaic Eurasian and American religions or social rules, stimulate drug addiction, including the use of liquor and tobacco, compare to communities of social insects. Regulation of the growth and behaviour of each insect in ant and termite heaps is exercised by *pheromons* or *exohormons*; hence the ant or termite heap may be likened to one integral organism.

For any government seeking to lessen a person's individualism the use of such chemical means for stimulating and regulating the behaviour of an entire community presents a definite advantage. Hence what historians have said about making drunkards out of Russians appears likely. However, I would like to note one special case when intoxication was employed to systematically control VIPs, to wit, Stalin's closest associates. These "subhumans," whom Mandelshtam defined in his epigram against Stalin as a "cabal of thin-necked leaders" were obliged to attend Stalin's nightly drinking bouts. As Romain Rolland observed in his recently published memoirs about his 1935 Moscow trip, Stalin was a moderate drinker, at any rate in the presence of this high-ranking foreigner, calling a halt after a certain number of toasts. However, his associates had to drink heavily, the only exception being made for Molotov on medical advice, but not for Zhdanov, whose wife had futilely implored that this be done. Stalin's suspiciousness grew whenever someone tried to avoid drinking. He used the drinking bouts Djilas so luridly describes to be sure that he knew what his associates were thinking.

Of course, one does not necessarily have to be of the elite, as with the Maya or in Stalin's Russia, to mandatorily use drugs systematically. Various societies differ in ritual or social rules governing the use of one or another narcotic or prescribing the use of

such. Studies of early Indo-European cultures forcefully demonstrate how the ancient Indo-Iranians replaced wine by soma or haoma, as significant religious drugs.

From *A Man Against Insanity* to the *A Clockwork Orange*

More distinct currently is the contour of the regulation of brain functioning deriving partly from chemical compounds, chiefly sundry narcotics, inclusive of liquor, tobacco, tea and coffee, from medical preparations, especially psychotropic drugs that are externally administered in accordance with certain social customs or are prescribed, as well as from hormones and *endorphins* which the organism itself generates in response to certain external stimuli also used in accordance with social rules.

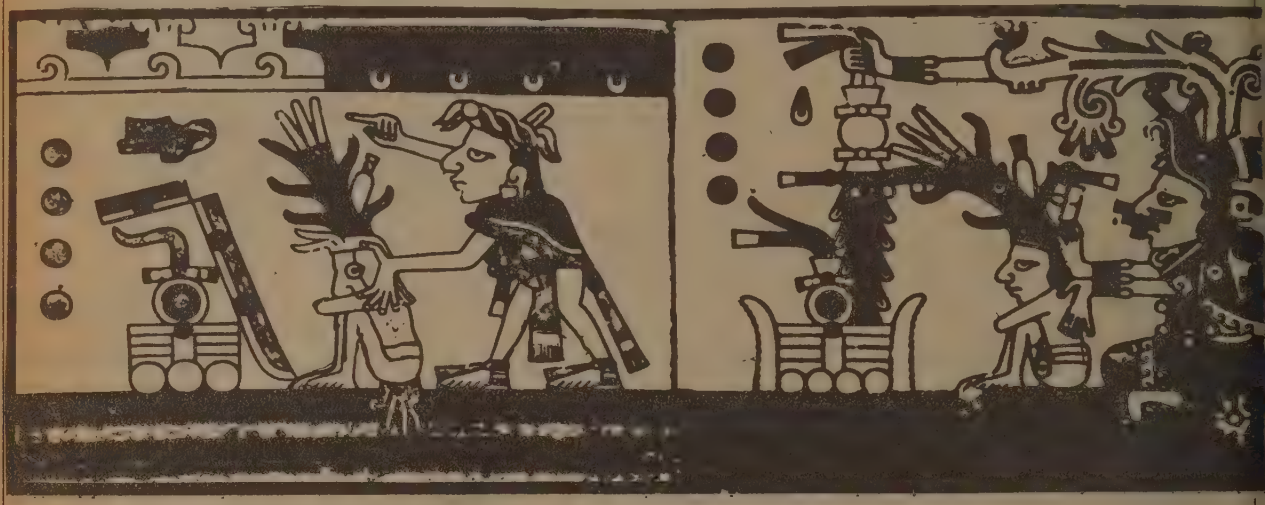
The postwar discovery of psychotropic drugs was viewed by many as a major achievement in the drive "against insanity" described in Paul de Kruif's popular book on the subject. The somewhat dampened enthusiasm of the 1960s derived from the detection of large number of side-effects, which necessitated restriction or observance of some additional conditions in the use of psychotropic drugs and the relatively narrow range of their action. Nonetheless, the number of people (not only those registered as patients of psychiatric clinics, who systematically take psychotropic drugs, inclusive of some found relatively safe) is great by now. If we add the more traditional medicines, such as sedatives and soporifics, as well as sundry nerve stimulators, we may boldly note that by now a very large number of people are subject to the chemical governing of brain functioning. In totalitarian states that opens the door to sundry abuses, to combat which international law has to be invoked; in that respect limitations should be imposed on hypnosis. Among serious ethical problems partly associated with psychoanalysis is the issue of how to remedy apprehension and depression by purely medical means, as in Aldous Huxley's anti-utopian *Brave New World*. Even though patients find it very hard to tolerate such conditions, still firstly they may be symptomatic of the actual existence not only of personal crisis, but also of socio-political, socio-economic or cultural crises, while secondly, depression as a specific mood, linked to dextral hemisphere orientation may be directly related to creative effort and may thus be conducive to, or stimulate such effort. Consequently, any suppression of anxiety and depression by purely medical psychoanalytical or chemical means may reduce possible response regulating individual's reaction to social conflicts, and withal lower the creative potential of the single individual or of all of society.

One may recall the many things poets have said, as for example Rilke in his correspondence, or Akhmatova in conversations with her friends including myself, to the effect that psychoanalysis could have interfered with their creative endeavour as discharging in a certain sense similar psychoanalytical objectives. Such is the underlying motif of Sallinger's series about the poet Seymour, who suicides after his creative individuality is destroyed by psychoanalysis. Partly similar in theme is Akhmadulina's poem "Feeling Feverish."

Apart from purely chemical and physical means for affecting the brain, present-day society possesses a rich arsenal of methods which psychoanalysis and experimental psychology have evolved. In his book *A Clockwork Orange* Anthony Burgess describes but partly the fantasy of psychological training as largely responsible for reorganizing personality. Similar objectives are sought by modern means of mass communication and also by the entire arsenal of commercial advertisement and political propaganda.

The institution of the *yurodivy*

A sadly salient feature of this century was that paranoics like Stalin – scarcely can Bekhterev's diagnosis be denied – and perverted neurotics like Hitler, usurped the leadership in powerful states. They had the means whereby to physically eliminate or incarcerate (inclusive of lunatic asylums) and otherwise harass the more sober-thinking segments of the population. The extensively discussed abuse of psychiatry with respect to dissidents is only part of the extremely intricate issue of the interconnection between conformism and the norm, when the mentally normal, with rational awareness is often compelled to conflict with his environment which seems largely absurd to him, but as the result of which this society not infrequently declares him insane. Some traditional societies including medieval Russia tackled the issue of normal mentality and madness more successfully than at times nowadays. Thus, the old-time Russia's *yurodivy*, or God's fools, who were plainly abnormal from the angle of modern psychiatry could discharge a highly signific-



The gods help the Maya grow corn. Is this allegorical picture associated with psychic change?

ant social mission. Thus, according to the Russian philosopher Fyodorov, the state system of the Grand Duchy of Muscovy could be defined as an absolute monarchy restricted by the institute of the *yurodivy:* one needs but recall the scene in Pushkin's *Boris Godunov* in which the *yurodivy* damns the tsar. At Moscow's lunatic asylums I have encountered among patients people, who at a different time and in another country might have been revered as prophets.

We need to reform our notion of psychiatry. I think we should confine to psychiatric clinics those socially dangerous, insane criminals who usually go free (before some of them held high office) or

may have been given prison sentences, after serving which they were released. The uncertain nature of many diagnoses, such as "sluggish schizophrenia," made it possible to imprison in lunatic asylums many intellectuals whose work and social activity were essential for society.

A dead man pronounces the death sentence

Not for the foreseeable future but for the more distant vistas of medicine and science of the 21st century that are only just looming, possibly of greatest interest is the opportunity now opening of the surgical treatment of brain maladies and of ensuring the brain for decades or even centuries to come with enough blood cleansed by dialysis. Such projects which may become feasible in the next century might overturn notions of life and death. What might be likely is the continued functioning of an isolated brain that potentially could live and even thik for an unrestricted length of time although the problem of its linkage with the ageing organs of the body or the possibility of its transplantation into another body as in Bulgakov's *The Heart of a Dog* perhaps, will still be impossible for a long time to come. Hence a basic ethical issue that might arise is the need in such a case to prolong for an unrestricted time the physical suffering felt, if only, due to the linkage with its own body or that of another person or all the more so when isolated from the body. There are also legal and ethical problems which may rise most acutely, should medical technology employ the resources of a powerful totalitarian state to achieve such projects. That this may happen is intimated by the last years of Brezhnev or Franco who continued to live on thanks to numerous devices and competent physicians. Indeed, every such totalitarian leader, while in a state of artificially supported life, often beyond the threshold of clinical death, might take decisions costing many lives, for instance by counter-signing death sentences or ordering the invasion of some other country.

While the ancient Eastern and ancient American societies bequeathed the mummies of Pharaohs or high chiefs, and modern tyrannies prolonged the lives of almost dead dictators, future dictatorships may prolong the lives of the powers-that-be for unlimited periods of time. It would then be still harder to strip the Health Ministry's Fourth Department, which took care of the Kremlin leaders, of its powers, if at stake was not simply treatment but the extremely costly wellnigh unrestricted prolongation of life. Thus in the struggle for power future dictators or to be put it more optimistically, candidates to dictators, could play about with the most horrible of stakes not of a verbal nature as the immortal Stalin did, but of medically guaranteed immortality.

The Pharaoh's double

Yet the issue of feasible physical immortality arises also due to the progress made in molecular biology. As recent efforts have demonstrated, by employing just one nerve cell of the mummy, for instance, of 2000-year-old-ago Pueblo Indian one may resurrect the genetic code of an organism, which could theoretically be cloned thereby. Though it is impossible to restore the individual characteristics as they are not governed by the hereditary substance, one may note the theoretical probability of resurrecting not the dead man himself, but his potential twin or double, in which connection one might recall the ancient Egyptian mythological Ka, the pharaoh's double remaining after his death in the after-world, that so intensively fascinated the great Russian futurologist poet Khlebnikov. The range of ethical issues stemming from this unexpected implementation of Fyodorov's ideas as to the physical resurrection of the dead, which so absorbed Dostoevsky in the evening of his life, is so great that the mind boggles. Allow me though not to dwell upon these matters for the simple reason that at stake is the resurrection not only of a dead brain, but of the double or twin of the man to whom this brain belonged.

Not only medical and biological specialists but also the public at large and legislators must gird themselves to provide the answers to these issues. Otherwise human biology may see a repetition of nuclear physics' moral tragedy and the results for mankind would be irreparable.

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Perm and Surgut prefer Valenton

International Day of the Disabled observed for the first time this year

The ways of God are inscrutable indeed. Israfil' Baltykov, a former bulldozer operator from the town of Chernushka in the Urals, recently came to Moscow for the first time and, catching only a glimpse of it from a bus, flew on to Paris on board an Air France jet together with a group of other invalids from his region. From Charles de Gaulle airport the out-of-town guests made for the small town of Valenton, 15 km out of the capital.

At first sight, Valenton has no places of special interest. It is a clean and placid town with a church and mayor's office which occupies an old imposing building in front of a park. Judging by the names of streets and squares, the town was a bastion of the Communist Party for a long time. For instance, it has a Jacques Duclos park and a Marcel Cachin nursery school.

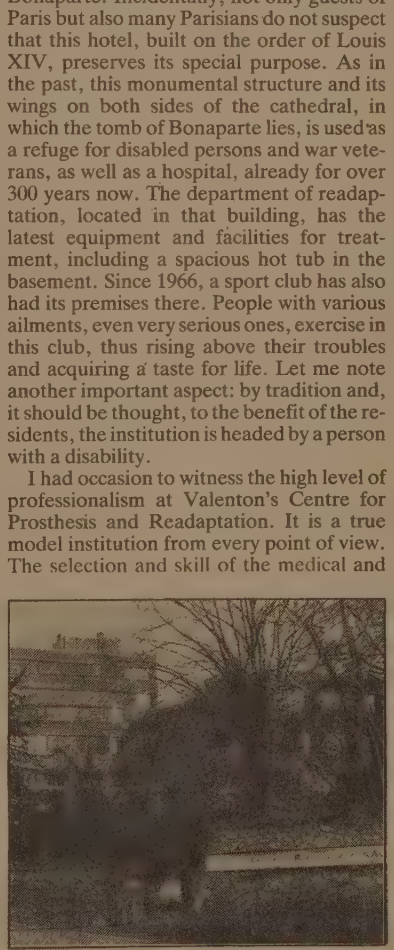
But running adjacent is yet another park beyond a stone wall. It has shady alleys, lawns, a pond with a white swan, and a picturesque bridge. On the seven hectares of this park, lies the Centre for Prosthesis and Readaptation, which is known far outside Valenton and Paris. It was founded in 1969. The disabled with amputated limbs are put on their feet again, in the literal sense of the word, and people who are victims of road, industrial or other accidents are rehabilitated.

For the first time the centre provided its services to Russian citizens – 14 members of the Oil, Gas and Construction Workers' Union from the Urals. The initiative came from its Council, and the costs were assumed by the Permneft Association in which these people had been employed till the accident, five continuing to work there till now.

Let the reader forgive me for a little digression, though directly linked with the subject of this article. In the summer of 1987, I had the occasion to be at the World Games of Disabled Sportsmen in Paris. The stadium on Louis Lumière Street, specially re-equipped for these games, received more than 1,000 participants of 35 countries from all the continents. We, in the Soviet Union, did not hear nor write anything about such games at the time. Our sport officials were not interested in medals for the disabled. The Soviet press virtually did not write about how the problems of disabled persons are tacked in the West; in France, in particular, there is a broad and rather effective system of state aid to disabled persons (5,350,000, or roughly a tenth of the country's population). Thanks to top officials in the French Federation of Sport for the Disabled, I visited, with great interest, several centres for prosthesis and readaptation, including one in Valenton.

I remember spending almost a whole day in the famous Hôtel des Invalides, known in our country as the Museum of the Army, or the tomb of Bonaparte. Incidentally, not only guests of Paris but also many Parisians do not suspect that this hotel, built on the order of Louis XIV, preserves its special purpose. As in the past, this monumental structure and its wings on both sides of the cathedral, in which the tomb of Bonaparte lies, is used as a refuge for disabled persons and war veterans, as well as a hospital, already for over 300 years now. The department of readaptation, located in that building, has the latest equipment and facilities for treatment, including a spacious hot tub in the basement. Since 1966, a sport club has also had its premises there. People with various ailments, even very serious ones, exercise in this club, thus rising above their troubles and acquiring a taste for life. Let me note another important aspect: by tradition and, it should be thought, to the benefit of the residents, the institution is headed by a person with a disability.

I had occasion to witness the high level of professionalism at Valenton's Centre for Prosthesis and Readaptation. It is a true model institution from every point of view. The selection and skill of the medical and technical personnel enable the centre to take care of patients whatever the state of their health may be. The centre has a workshop which makes both provisional and permanent prosthetic appliances. Modern comfort is provided for all patients – both in the hospital (87 beds) and those who stay here only during the day (50 beds). The Centre has a swimming pool and a cafeteria, two TV halls and a foyer, where patients can play table tennis, billiard, chess and cards.



The Centre for Prosthesis and Readaptation in Valenton

Patients from the Urals lived in an adjacent hotel. They spent a little over two weeks in Valenton, a minimal period. Nevertheless, each Russian disabled person was fitted with a new prosthetic limb. Most members of the group could appraise the merits of their new limbs right away. They were lighter and more convenient than those made in their own country.

"It's not easy to produce oil and gas," says Alexander Babyrin, the Russian Council Secretary in Charge of International Relations. "Not infrequently accidents happen. It's not the first time that our disabled are travelling abroad for the purpose of prosthesis. The social and simply human value of such contacts is so self-evident that wordy comments are needless."

The small French firm Socoex and its manager Jean-Pierre Montagne deserve praise for acting as mediators in organizing the trip of this group of disabled from the Urals to France, their stay in Valenton, and treatment at the Centre for Prosthesis and Readaptation.

Georgy Voronin, chairman of the trade union committee at the Surgutneftegaz Association, visited Valenton during his stay in Paris on business and definitively concluded that next year his association would send two groups of disabled to Valenton for treatment. Last spring, Surgutneftegaz sent one group to Britain, not being aware of the Valenton Centre. They found that the French Centre offers more preferable terms at lower prices. In particular, it guarantees regular trips by its specialist (once in half a year) for the examination of its former patients and correction of their prosthetic parts.

On flying from Paris to Moscow, Israfil' Baltykov went down the steep staircase at Sheremetyevo-2 airport by leaning on his cane, the escalator not working as usual. In the other hand he held his old crutches no longer necessary to him. But Baltykov did not want to leave them behind, or perhaps he had decided to keep them for an emergency. In any case, he has made steps in improving his quality of life.

Albert Pin

PARIS–MOSCOW

Dmitry Pokrovsky, 48, graduated from the Gnesins Institute of Musical Art as a balalaika-player and conductor of a choir. He proceeded to work in famous orchestras, and in 1973 he organized a folk music company. Dmitry taught at Princeton University, and other music colleges abroad. In 1988 Pokrovsky was awarded a State Prize. It was presented to him personally by Mikhail Gorbachev.

While studying at the Gnesins Institute Dmitry felt the need to depart from primitive and hackneyed "folk art." Once, in a remote Russian village, he heard songs which had truly been passed down from generation to generation over the centuries. Thus began his music odyssey.

For three years his folk music company existed on a voluntary basis, under the auspices of the Composers' Union, and survived only thanks to famous composer Rodion Shchedrin. People of various professions, including psychologists and mathematicians, took part, together with musicians, in the formation of this "live laboratory." Each member of the company is a specialist in the folklore of a definite region of Russia. They study their respective regions together with climatic conditions, geography, history and other local art forms. Pokrovsky is called the founder of an entirely new trend – folklore studies.

In the last few years, concerts given by the company, along with its unique research activity have become widely known in the United States and Sweden, Finland and Poland, Japan and South Africa. Newspapers in these countries published incredibly enthusiastic reviews. Here is one of them: "The music (played by the orchestra) seems as deep as the Russian soul and as boundless as the vast expanses of Russia."

During the first 17 years of its existence the company was not allowed to go abroad. In the Soviet Union, it performed hardly seven to ten concrets a year. Pokrovsky was banned. "They (authorities) feared that we would turn around public opinion," Dmitry says. "All officially recognized academic folk companies – the Pyatnitsky, Omsky and other choirs – sang pseudo-folk songs. It was generally believed in the West that only Zykina sings folk songs."

Ideological bans in the past and the half-beggarly existence at present, means that the company has never known supportive conditions, under which to create. Nevertheless, Pokrovsky and his choir continue to gather grains of Russia's rich cultural legacy and return them to the people.

■ ■ ■

Among the numerous missionaries who have visited Moscow recently **Farida Peimeny** was distinguished not only by her striking appearance but also by a hot temperament, unusual to religious preachers.

An American of Iranian descent, Farida was born and grew up in Teheran in a family which preached the youngest and most liberal of all independend religions – Bakhayi. There are no clergymen nor images of gods in the Bakhayi temples. Since the Bakhayis have no clergy, each believer balances his daily life with religious activity.

At the age of 15 Farida Peimeny went on her first religious mission. During the last 17 years she has visited 47 countries. She arrived in

Moscow shortly before a world congress of Bakhayis in New York. Farida is sure that thousands of Bakhayis from all over Russia and abroad will also attend the national congress of the Russian commune.

Between her trips abroad Farida

Man of his words

Leonid Kuchma, 54, has been appointed a new premier of Ukraine, the second head of government since the republic's independence. He is the first premier not connected with top party or government bodies. Moreover, he was not allowed to go abroad till December 1989, because he worked at a top-secret plant. Leonid Kuchma was proposed for the post of premier by the managers of large industrial associations and plants. He is one of the "generals" of the military-industrial complex. For many years he headed a huge Southern Machine-Building Works in Dnepropetrovsk, at which powerful missiles for space exploration and the strategic forces of the Soviet Army were developed.

The new premier, who was born in Eastern Ukraine, is a realist. He does not hope for a miracle and does not promise quick solutions. "No measures by the government today will change the situation rapidly," he says. Kuchma is going to rely on "practical workers" who are engaged in real business and have a sense of responsibility. He also wants to encourage small and medium business.

Leonid Kuchma favours tough measures in such matters as the struggle against corruption and organized crime, finances and the payment for labour which, in his opinion, must depend on the expansion of output. He is not against private ownership of land. However, he thinks Ukraine should advance to it gradually, in an evolutional way. Kuchma pins special hopes on the restoration of production ties with Russia. In his view, Ukraine should end the "cold war" with Russia. However, he believes that production ties with Russia should be built on the principles of equality, mutual advantage and economic responsibility on the part of both countries.

The Premier also hopes for the restoration of civil peace in Ukraine, even calling for the formation of a coalition government. The new government, consisting of industrtialists and activists of the oppositional "Rukh" movement, clearly shows that Kuchma is a man of his words.

works in a fashionable ladies' garments shop on the Hawaiian Islands. She prefers to spend summer in Los Angeles.

■ ■ ■

Nikolai Vasin, 47, an architect living in St. Petersburg, the author of the yet unpublished book, *Rock and Roll on Russian Bones*, is considered the Number One "Beetles-man," not only in Russia but perhaps in the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Just as many other young people of the late sixties and early seventies, Nikolai was engaged in god-seeking. Failing to find god in the heavens, he unexpectedly discovered him on the earth. It was John Lennon. His songs, Nikolai says, spread rays of Love and Good throughout the world.

Nikolai sent John a postcard with birthday greetings and received a reply. A Beetles record with the autograph of Lennon arrived from distant England. Nikolai Vasin has kept his blind love for the creative work of Lennon and the Beetles all his life. At present, logically consummating his love, architect Vasin is erecting a John Lennon temple on the Neva River banks. It will be a temple on the boundary between Non-Freedom and Freedom, between the second and third millennia, between East and West. The temple will represent a 50-metre high structure with a rock-like shape. Rock-and-roll fans and sympathizers are expected to gather in it. There will be only one custodian in this temple — Nikolai Vasin, a man of God, to spread the lyrics.

■ ■ ■

Not only did Russians put the first spacecraft in orbit and go to outer space. Pictures by a Russian painter have now travelled for the first time in near-earth orbit.

Landscapes by Moscow artist **Alexander Novikov** were on board the piloted complex Mir for almost two months. "The living creation of human hands brightened up our life in orbit," says pilot-cosmonaut Musa Manarov.

This admission of a cosmonaut allows non-professional artist Alexander Novikov to demand that his name should be included in the

Guinness Book of Records, for till now none of the pictures painted on earth have been flown into space.

Alexander Novikov, 39, who was born in Baku and is an electrical engineer by education, worked for many years in his speciality at the Kuban collective farm, Road to Communism, and then at the Krasnodar Chemical Plant. He began to paint already at a mature age. Cosmonauts liked the paintings displayed at his first personal exhibition in Zvezdny Gorodok (Star Town) and asked the flight directors for permission to take some of Novikov's paintings on a space mission. The space "truck," Progress—M—7, delivered two paintings to the Mir station. At present one of them hangs in the London flat of British astronaut, Helen Sharman.

"Most charming and modest"

Film actress **Tatiana Samoilova** visited Cannes again this year, a city where 34 years ago she experienced the most emotional moment in her life. In 1958 Soviet filmmakers brought "Cranes are Flying" to the Cannes Film Festival. Filmed by Sergei Urusevsky, it starred Tatiana Samoilova. A daughter of Yevgeny Samoilov, a famous Soviet actor of the 1940s and 1950s, and a student of the Shchukin Institute of Theatrical Art, Tatiana led an ordinary life. "Cranes are Flying" was only her second appearance in cinema, and no one expected a sensation. Nonetheless, the film created a furore at Cannes and won the Grand Prix of the festival, Tatiana receiving a prize for best female role along with another prize called "Orange Sapling," awarded to "the most charming and modest actress of the festival."

Tatiana's life changed drastically after the Cannes Festival, taking on aspects of a fairytale. Famous artists did her portrait, often appearing on the covers of foreign fashion magazines. Journalists hunted her down for interviews. Tatiana's face became an archetype of beauty, some women doing all they could to capture some of her award-winning charm. Her success lead to an offer to play Anna Karenina in an American film. The shooting was to be held in Hollywood and the famous French actor, Gerard Philipe, was to co-star with her.

Soviet authorities, though, did not allow Tatiana to play in that film. A dark period began in the life of the actress. Her tragic sentiments and rebellious temperament contrasted with the oppressive atmosphere of those times, and the powers that be viewed her with suspicion. She played in several run-of-the-mill films, and then starred in the Soviet film "Anna Karenina." After that no roles were offered to her. Tatiana again began to lead an ordinary life. She raised a son, read poems on stage, and tried to play minor parts in films. She gradually became forgotten about.

Now Tatiana Samoilova is in the limelight again. She was awarded the title of People's Artist of Russia, and in Cannes she again received a prize, this time for a large contribution to world cinema. The audience again applauded her in the famous cinema palace in Cannes, and the live transmission of the ceremony was watched by all of France. Though Tatiana Samoilova didn't act frequently in films and her creative life ended early, her best roles will go down forever in the history of world cinema.

Seven notes in dead silence

New Yorkers are waiting to enjoy Nikolai Sidelnikov's music. Will Muscovites ever hear it?

I happened to meet Nikolai Nikolayevich Sidelnikov a few days before his death, in a hospital where he was awaiting a complicated operation. He was optimistic and worked a lot, even on his hospital bed. Unfortunately, that interview, or rather Nikolai Nikolayevich's monologue about his life and work, turned out to be the last one.

Over 62 years of his life the composer had had his share of anxieties and joys, disappointments and hopes. An extremely prolific and versatile composer he, as it often happens, had won recognition and fame in the West while remaining obscure at home. He had had to wait for years, decades even, for his works to be performed here because they did not fit in with the generally accepted canons.

Says Nikolai Nikolayevich Sidelnikov:

A concert in New York

As you see, now I am a patient of a famous oncological centre. I hope, this is not my last visit here, and I shall pull through. Hopefully...

I am composing music here, too, fulfilling an assignment by a concrete performer for a concrete concert which is to take place in New York in April 1993. This will be our joint piano soiree with Grigory Khaimovsky, a superb pianist and a good friend of mine. In all likelihood, the concert will be given in the Lincoln Centre.

Two of my piano compositions are to be performed. I have already written one of them – 11 sketches under the general title of *America, My Love*. In them, I tried to convey the impressions the US gave me when I first visited it with my son. This piece is done in the rather unusual sketch genre not quite common in music – in so-called serious music, anyway.

The second composition, *Labyrinths*, which I am now bringing to completion, belongs to a rather unusual genre, too – it is a novel, a ballet, a symphony and a sonata rolled in one. The piece is based on the ancient Greek myth about Theseus. Every myth, however, is a symbol which stands for the innermost processes under way in man's soul and mind.

This composition will consist of five parts, their moods ranging from youthful romantic dream of heroic deeds to the way one feels after performing them.

I conceived of this piece long ago. I've had many ideas of the way to sum up my work. Not that I'm going to kick the bucket. I am just following the example of Somerset Maugham who, at sixty-odd, wrote his remarkable *Summing Up*. His explanation was that he had lived a happy life, achieved all his aims, and decided to set forth his experiences in a small essay like that. He lived for about thirty years thereafter, it is true.

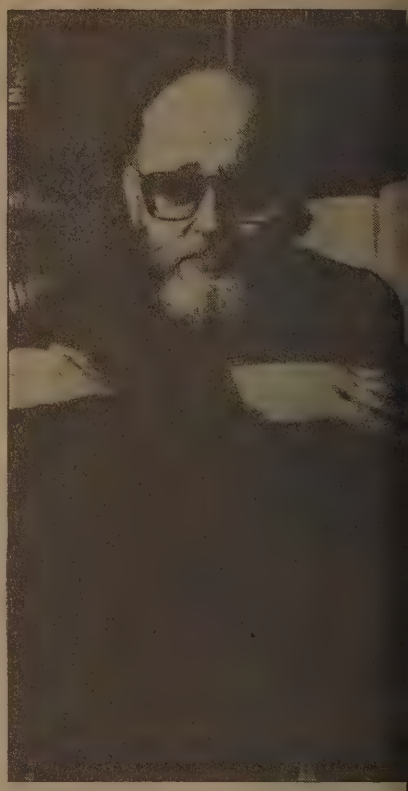
Glinka's behests

To put it in a nutshell, mine is a Russian theme. I started composing thirty-five years ago with a piece about Boris and Gleb. Dmitry Shostakovich and Georgy Sviridov liked it a lot, but it was first performed thirty years later. Our system is such that if you don't conform, you won't get anywhere.

That did not make much difference to me but anyway it's fun to hear your work played, even at a rehearsal.

When I say that my theme is Russian I do not mean that I confine myself to a certain context. I mean that I proceed from the heritage of Mikhail Ivanovich Glinka who was the first to introduce into our culture elements of other cultures, such as Spanish and Oriental. In Glinka's work you can find amazing insights into what all the ethnic cultural strata have in common.

I try to develop these principles in my work. Suffice it to mention the ballads to the lyrics by Garcia Lorca about love and death, the *Sichuan elegies* to the poems by the great Chinese poet Du Fu, and compositions based on Hebrew texts. I'd like to turn to the Moslem theme, too,



N. Sidelnikov: "One's got to work at home"

which is quite a challenge. Provided, of course, that I have enough time left to translate this idea into life...

The development of the Russian theme has culminated in the St. John Chrysostom Liturgy. Actually, I worked on it all my life, and it is, perhaps, symbolic that I completed it in 1988, the year of the 1,000th anniversary of the baptism of Russia. The Liturgy was brilliantly performed and went down well with the audience.

I proceeded from Russian history to spiritual history – to liturgy, the most mysterious and the greatest form of divine service. As distinct from Tchaikovsky, Rachmaninoff and other composers, also inspired by that form, I did not mean it to be performed in a church. On the contrary, I sought to have this form of divine service presented on the concert stage so that anyone, irrespective of his faith or of his attitude to religion, could hear the grandeur and see the light of this wonderful action through my emotional perception of it. My prayer to God is very emotional, which is why many priests disapprove of it – after all, the Church also has canons and dogmas of its own.

Over almost forty years, I have com-

posed three operas (none of them is on yet, although all of them have been okayed by all sorts of committees and commissions), the ballet *Stepan Razin*, which was staged first and then banned through my colleagues' efforts, six symphonies, a lot of chamber and choral music.

In 1984, I was awarded the Glinka Prize for music to Lorca's romances and for my *Russian Fairy Tales*. Back in 1971, *Russian Fairy Tales* were included by UNESCO among the ten best compositions of the world concert season. In accordance with that Organization's rules, each work which hits the "ten" should be played no less than 12 times a year for 12 years in all its member-countries. In this country, nothing has been said or written about it: I was not on the approved list of the leaders of the Composers' Union, and the *Russian Fairy Tales* were first performed here 13 years later.

As regards choral music, I'd like to single out the *Private Talks* based on old Russian prose. At a prestigious festival in Italy, it won the Grand Prix – the Grand Golden Bell, which is now in the Moscow Conservatoire. No mention has been made of that here in Russia...

A chamberlain's coat

So much for my "success story" at home. On February 3, the President conferred the title of a People's Artist on me, which means about as much to me as it did to Andrei Tarkovsky, a friend of mine, in his time. After I had congratulated him on the title, you know what he told me? "What are you congratulating me on? I'm pushing fifty. On the chamberlain's coat?"

Well, such a coat does not suit me, either. I'd rather they fix the telephone in my summer cottage so that I could call in a doctor when I'm ill.

I think they conferred the title on me after someone had counted all the premieres I had from Beijing to New York, in almost all the capitals of Western Europe – there were enough of them for even the authorities to pay attention to.

All this "glory" means nothing to me because there are things which do not fit into the table of ranks. If I have done anything that people like, I have only God to thank for it. All those prizes and awards are for those who have nothing else to show for their work.

One of my greatest disappointments – which should have been a joy, actually – was the enthusiastic reception given by the American public to the symphony *Poet's Tumultuous World* (to Lermontov's poems) brilliantly performed by Sergei Yakovenko. The audience gave a standing ovation to the singer who raised a score with my name on it over his head. As a matter of fact, I was given a severe dressing-down for that work by Deputy Minister Vasily Kukharsky. He kept me standing in his office for forty minutes, hurled abuse at me and, although he had never heard my work, shouted: "You could as well make even Brezhnev's speeches sound counter-revolutionary!" "Did you try to do that?" I asked. "Don't forget yourself!" he yelled at me. That was positively indecent of him. As a result, I was deprived of orders by the Ministries of Culture of both the Russian Federation and the USSR. That was hard, considering that I have three children to support.

I am adult enough to shout from the rooftops: "Americans like my work!" This is stupid. I must do my job at home. I don't understand those who engage in word-mongering – I mean the musicians who have settled in the West and who now make believe that their motive was to glorify our Motherland. Actually, they are after sausage and clothes. One's got to work at home!

Harmony in nature is not to be upset

"Nikolai Nikolayevich, many of your works have received recognition abroad. Why, then, have they evoked such a negative reaction from the authorities here? After all, there is nothing seditious about them."

"The answer is simple enough. From the very outset, the socialist system sought to eleminate anything that did not fit in with ideologized art – individuality in this particular case. Since individuality is unpredictable – and so is each of my works, I am a follower of Stravinsky in this sense – I got a good beating now and then.

"I've composed a symphony to words by Engels, you know. There is nothing time-serving about that. I was just looking for a text that would answer certain philosophical questions. I read works by many philosophers for the purpose, from Heraklitus to Kant and modern thinkers. It was only in Engels' *Dialectics of Nature* that I found pithy texts expressing the ideas I was looking for and suitable for being set to music. The symphony was performed on the occasion of Engels' 150th birth anniversary. The press passed it over in silence – no reviews. That is, they didn't want anything by me, even works like that. Had it been written by the Secretary of the Composers' Union or by a mercenary, he would certainly have been awarded a Lenin Prize, at least.

"In a word, this system neither wanted, nor created anything of real value. It has always been creating the cult of sham values. A man of talent, and I think I can call myself a master at any rate, has no moral right to do anything but follow his divine predestination. Harmony in nature is not to be upset. Now all Soviet culture, or 99 percent of it, did just that. That was why my work did not fit into it. And that was why I've had such a hard time. But I'm even sort of happy about that. As one overcomes all the difficulties, one finally gains strength.

"I wouldn't prefer another destiny for myself although, of course, I'm short of money, of everything..."

"Did the authorities change their attitude to you after the so-called *perestroika* had begun?"

"Not at all. The system is tenacious of life, it is omnipresent, it lives on in the minds, in the nation's very mentality.

"No matter what fine intentions Gorbachev or Yeltsin and his team may have, things will go well only when the powers-that-be realize that the aim in life is self-perfection, that the meaning of life consists in giving, not getting, as Jesus Christ said. It is time our leadership has realized that the emphasis on culture (I mean musical and spiritual culture, as well as the culture of human relations) will provide a stimulus to free creative work."

Nikolai Nikolayevich completed his *Labyrinths* right on the eve of the operation. The New York concert will be the best monument to the composer who did so much for Russian culture but got so little in return.

Hopefully, we shall hear Nikolai Sidelnikov' last concert here in Moscow, too, and give the Master his due.

Andrei Avdoshin

Photo by Valery Plotnikov

A cunning move to join the world psychiatric community

Russia's punitive psychiatry upholds its right to existence

After long debates in Athens in 1989 the World Psychiatric Association finally admitted Soviet psychiatrists to its membership. Apparently doubtful, however, of how far *perestroika* had reached into Soviet mental clinics, the Association set five conditions. One of them was the demand to replace the entire administration of the Soviet Union's psychiatric service. Soviet authorities gave their word on this along with the other four terms. The West, however, found itself waiting for results.

In 1991 the world psychiatric community boycotted the 70th anniversary of the Serbsky Central Scientific Research Institute of Forensic Psychiatry, and not only because of its grim record, but because the main report at the anniversary meeting was to be presented by G. Morozov, a member of the Academy of Medical Sciences. He had headed the institute for 33 years, during which abuses of psychiatry for political and other non-medical purposes were practised there. Today, there is no one who would question that a whole system of such abuses existed in the USSR for decades. This was admitted by T. Dmitriyeva, the new director of the Serbsky Institute. However, its Academic Council continues the denying game. Incidentally, the same council was the one which insisted that Morozov remain honorary director of the Institute. In this capacity Morozov was charged with directing research work for writing the history of this medical institution. As a result, the institute did not admit to its offences nor to destroying human lives.

The boycott was violated by three foreign psychiatrists, including Serge Bornstein, President of the World Forensic Psychiatry and Psychology Association. It was then, in December 1991, that the idea of drawing Russian psychiatrists into the world community first appeared. At a meeting between Bornstein and the Institute's chiefs it was agreed that an Association of Russian Forensic Psychiatrists and Psychologists should be founded.

The Association, conceived a year ago, was formalized in late October at a meeting on the issue of improving the organization of forensic psychiatric examination.

The lesson of recent years seems to be that changing the "signboard" is the most easy and effective way of avoiding responsibility for the past, keeping privileges, and improving relations with foreign colleagues at least for a while. At a meeting in Kursk, top officials of the Serbsky Institute categorically denied any connection between the institute and the new organization, though the initiating group of the future association was staffed with the Serbsky Institute workers.

The Serbsky Institute's employees enthusiastically explained to doctors-psychiatrists who gathered at the meeting that the Association means material support and insurance for them, added legal services, and the opportunity to take trips of various kinds, including visits abroad. All of which boils down to a sort of trade union, rather than an ordinary organization. No replies, however, were given to questions on whether the Association will help defend staff members from the chief doctor of a clinic or hospital, and whether it will really arrange for professional contacts with foreign colleagues.

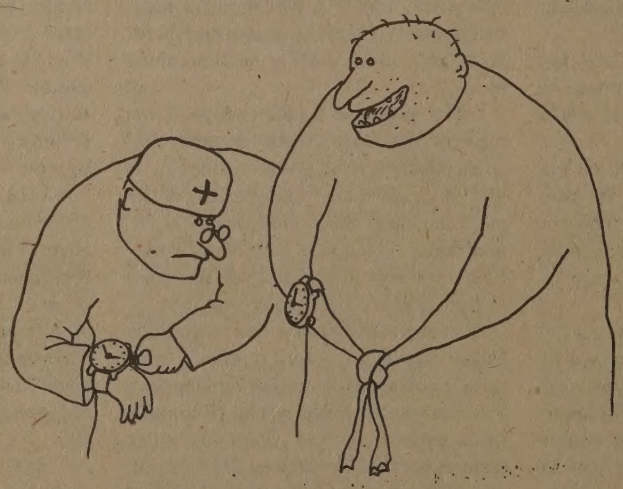
Incidentally, the charter of the Association speaks for itself. Various aims were written down in the charter of the new organization. But the first among the aims is to defend forensic psychiatrists against charges that they abuse their medical position. Most striking is the scale of the newly founded association. Whole institutes, hospitals, departments and commissions can be its members.

The proposal to abolish collective membership and refrain from appointing top officials and employees of the Serbsky Institute to leading bodies of the new Association was described by the latter as "psychopathological," "imbued with psychological hatred" and "dictated by considerations of expediency." The meeting ignored the proposal not to separate forensic from general psychiatry and not to found a new association, but simply form a special section, under the All-Russia Society of Psychiatrists. As a result, the charter was adopted without any changes.

The sham election to the Council of the new organization went off smoothly. Only 17 delegates from 15 of the 28 territories which agreed to be members of the Association took part in the voting. The rest preferring to take the day off. T. Dmitriyeva, Director of the Serbsky Institute, was nominated for election to the Council by R. Valitov, head physician of the special psychiatric clinic in Kazan, a "well-known" man in medical circles. For example, because of his "reputation" the visit of Soviet psychiatrists to the United States could not be organized last year. Five employees of the Serbsky Institute and three "blacklisted" Soviet psychiatrists were elected to the Council of the new association. The "black list" was compiled by Andre Köppers in a book on the history and policy of Soviet psychiatry. It was published under the aegis of the Geneva Initiative of Psychiatry and is well known in the world psychiatric community. Top officials of the Serbsky Institute were appointed to leading posts in the Association.

Only representatives from St. Petersburg and Samara refused to take part in this organization. We, the Executive Committee of the Independent Psychiatric Association, believe that the Association formed at the Kursk meeting will slow down real reforms in forensic psychiatry and even increase the monopoly position by the Serbsky Institute. Finally, the probable admission of the newly founded Association to the World Forensic Psychiatry and Psychology Association at a meeting in Paris this month is, in our opinion, a challenge to the world psychiatric community.

Yuri Savenko,
president of the Independent Psychiatric Association



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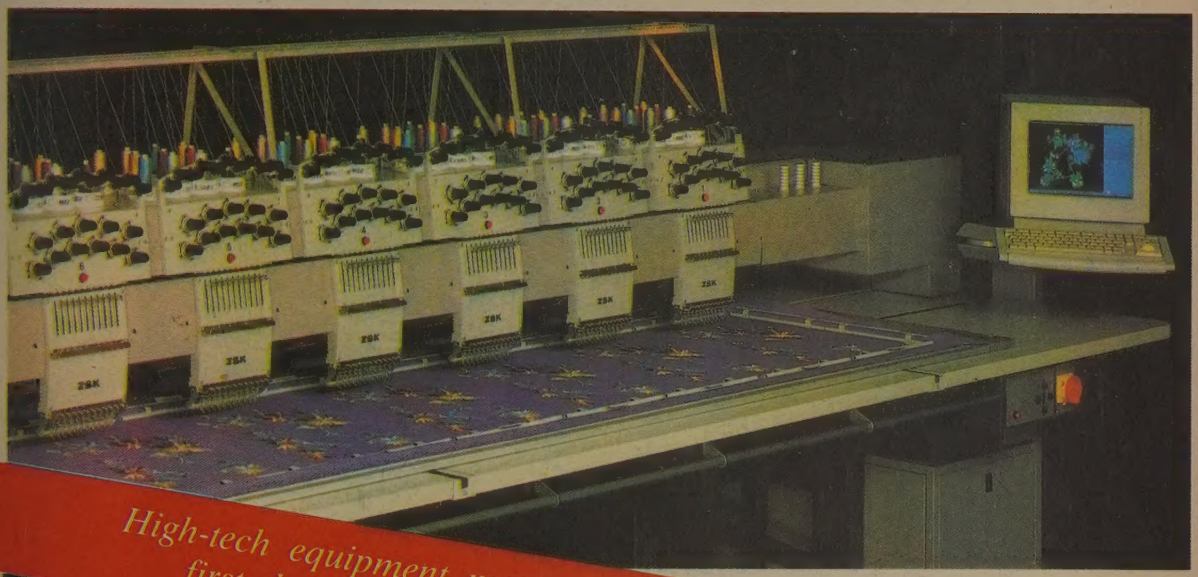

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